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ABSTRACT

This book contains 12 chapters, each of which is a case study or a commentary on the unemployment of the 1980s and early 1990s and on the programs devised to retrain workers. Titles and authors are as follows: "Understanding Unemployment: A Critical Overview of Labour Market Trends, Employment, and Unemployment: (John Hughes); "A Critical Overview: Education and Training Responses to Changes in the Labour Market and Unemployment" (Kevin Ward, Keith Forrester); "Unemployment and Education: Adjustment Strategies for Displaced Workers in the United States" (Jeanne Prial Gordus, Karen Yamakawa); "Dislocated Workers in Transition: Overcoming Resistance to Retraining and Continuing Education" (Lee Shore, Jerry Atkin); "Communication and Information System for the Unemployed: A Systems Approach to a Systems Problem" (Otto Feinstein); "The REPLAN Programme in England and Wales: A National Programme To Improve Educational Opportunities for Unemployed Adults" (Paul Fordham); "Open College Networks and Unwaged People" (David Browning); "Adult Education and Trade Union Centres against Unemployment" (Keith Forrester, Kevin Ward); "Community Business Development in Scotland: Its Relevance to Adult Education" (George Burt); "Recurrent Education and the Labour Market: Changing Conceptions within Swedish Post-Compulsory Education" (Kenneth Abrahamsson); "Youth Unemployment in West Europe: Alternating Training Systems as Responses to Youth Unemployment in Five Western European Countries" (Krista Michiels); and "Conclusion: Education and Training Policies--Future Challenges for Educational Institutions, Employers, and Trade Union Organisations" (Keith Forrester, Kevin Ward). (KC)

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UNEMPLOYMENT, EDUCATION, AND TRAINING:

Case Studies from North America and Europe

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Edited by Keith Forrester
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The time and coordination required to assemble and prepare a volume with international contributions was far greater than we envisaged originally. Involving nine contributors from five countries enhanced the educational value and objectives of the book; organising the contributions for publication, on the other hand, was a different matter completely!

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–Keith Forrester
and Kevin Ward

Introduction

By Keith Forrester and Kevin Ward

> Unemployment is falling, people are getting back to work: but I don't believe it. Things are getting better, I am told: I don't believe it....I have been struggling to find a job since being made redundant...the unemployed are the untouchables of (society). It's not for want of trying...Failure is not disappointment, it's heartbreak....there is no progression, no future, just stagnation and slow decay. The gulf between the employed and the jobless is a vast one; not only financially but in terms of understanding...much of training is but free labour for employers masquerading as trainers. The unemployed aren't getting jobs, only schemes...the unemployed are...undesirables. I wonder what I have done that I and my family should be denied the simple dignity of living a normal life.

These are the words of a 40-year-old unemployed man writing in a major British newspaper in Spring 1989.[1] At the same time, a significant book was published in Britain which indicated that it was highly likely that Jim Jarrett's desperate search for work would continue, unsuccessfully, into the 1990s.[2] This book was written by a former adviser in the United Kingdom (UK) government's Department of Employment. It included reports on long-term unemployment from commissioned economic forecasts based on monetarist and Keynesian perspectives. On the basis of these (which all predicted major continuing unemployment problems into the 1990s) and other surveys, the author concludes that unemployment in the UK will rise from its current figure (2,018 million in early 1989,[3] to 4 million by 1991); and this is an underestimate since it does not include, for example, those over 65 wishing to work.

When these British figures are placed in the context of the employment and unemployment details of other OECD countries (a total of around 30 million for the latter half of the 1980s) which are provided by John Hughes in Chapter 1 of this book, then we have some idea about the scale of the problem of unemployment in the 1980s and 1990s in western industrialised countries.

At the beginning of the 1980s, when there was a proliferation of moral panic and other responses to unemployment (see Chapter 2 for a descriptive analysis of these differing responses), none but a tiny minority were truly blase about unemployment. Since then, however, there seems to have been a gradual change in attitudes in many countries–at least on the part of those in power and authority–towards the unemployed. In some countries (Sweden and the United States, for example) lower levels of unemployment may have led to more of a focus on education and retraining for the current workforce–albeit a two-tier system of low-level training for unskilled workers (a semi-literate underclass?), limited training for skilled workers, and more generous provision for managerial staff. In other countries (Britain being the prime example), recent falls in unemployment official totals have led to a misplaced complacency and a diminution of urgent responses; perhaps because high levels of unemployment have not proved so politically dangerous as was once assumed. Whatever the reasons, unemployment is no longer regarded as the critical issue it was in the early- to mid-1980s.

In this context, the purpose of this book is to contribute, marginally at least, to that debate which stresses that unemployment should be regarded as a major social, political, and economic problem for the foreseeable future. In addition, even in those countries where the official unemployment rates are relatively low, there is an urgent need, in a context of rapid technological development and major changes in the labour market, to provide accessible and relevant educational opportunities for creative work and creative leisure.

The origins of this book lie in adult education work with unwaged people which has been developed since 1981 by the editors and other colleagues from the Department of External Studies (previously called the Department of Adult and Continuing Education) at the University of Leeds in the North of England. The Department already had a well established programme of workers' education, but in common with the vast majority of educational institutions it had no specific response to dramatic rises in unemployment. Thus, an adult education action-research programme with unwaged adults in the community and with redundant workers was established. This work is well-documented elsewhere.[4] As adult educators, it meant that we had a lot to learn both from unwaged adults about their concerns and priorities, and also from other projects and programmes both in the UK, other European countries, and North America. Some of these contacts were eventually brought together at an international conference held at Ruskin College, Oxford–well-known for its tradition of working class adult education in Britain–in 1988. The papers for the conference (Adult Education and Responses to Unemployment: Some North American and European Experiences) provided the basis for this book. The book describes and analyses significant education and training responses to unemployment, underemployment, and general labour market restructuring from a variety of institutional and organisational settings in

North America and Europe.

The chapters have been chosen because of the significant issues and development currently associated with them; their importance as examples covering a spectrum of responses from deliberately varied settings and organisational bases; and the international perspectives which could be incorporated. Finally, all have important action, research, and policy implications, both for future responses to a changing labour market and for the development of "lifelong learning."

The first two chapters provide a contextual overview for the subsequent contributors. John Hughes, in Chapter 1, for example, argues that the unemployment experience of the 1980s within the OECD countries was not the result of "accidental" cyclical economic activity, but instead was part of the deliberately planned "normal" rates of growth and rapid increases in corporate profitability. The deep-seated structural problems within the European economies has highlighted the plight of the long term unemployed: in the UK, 60 percent of the long term unemployed had been out of work continuously for over two years. In a wide ranging look at the possible responses required to confront these imbalances, divisions, and unequalities accompanying the traumatic shifts in employment levels and employment location, Hughes argues for "new alliances, new forms of partnership, new flexibility in place of old rigidities...new patterns of responsibility, of state support, and of state self-regulation." He states:

> There is an urgency about this that stems from the dangers of rapidly and cumulatively increasing inequalities undermining and disintegrating both the aspirations and the realities involved in a pursuit of common citizenship and shared access to the wealth and creativity of modern society.

It is the education and training responses to these changes in the labour market that provide our focus in the second overview chapter. Despite the proliferation of training and education schemes for unemployed people throughout the 1980s, in Europe and North America, there are a number of basic problems which inhibit a process of joint learning and comparative analysis. These include the lack of comprehensive current information as well as statistical and policy ambiguity resulting from differing definitions and conceptual usage of the terms "unemployed," "training," and "education"; finally, only a minimal concern with "the context, objective outcomes, and research and policy implications from a range of (these) initiatives both within different countries and across countries." In reviewing briefly the variety of training and education schemes, we conclude the chapter with a number of suggestions that are designed to enhance not only the possibility of sharing more effectively the experience of local activities, but also the likelihood of developing a broader set of "indicators" that generate the possibility of a comparative and policy focus across sectors and institutions, and within and across national boundaries. The suggested framework, it is argued, should contribute towards a strengthening of future educational and training practice and policy in work with the unemployed and, also, in assessing the issues raised in the case studies which follow.

The first three case studies are from North America. They are examples of responses generally to the unemployment crisis of the 1980s, and in particular to large-scale plant closures. Jeanne Gordus and Karen Yamakawa describe a major programme, based in Michigan, concerned with adjustment strategies for displaced automotive workers, a significant group within the 5.8 million blue-collar workers "displaced" between 1979-1984. Describing the "Downriver Project," where several thousand workers were laid-off from firms supplying the auto industry, the authors demonstrate the importance of a well designed and implemented programme of support for unemployed workers in the areas of recruitment, job search, and placement. Generalising the successful outcomes of the Downriver Project to six other sites increased the support facilities available to displaced workers. At the same time, the extensive research and monitoring activities continued to provide valuable information about the effectiveness of different strategies for unemployed workers: for example, in showing why skills training was found to have no positive impact. The wealth of valuable information, including longitudinal studies, collected specifically about unemployed car workers was an integral part of the joint union-management education and training programmes. These programmes, both for displaced workers and subsequently for active employees, have expanded from the auto industry to other sectors of the economy, and have received considerable attention in North America. As Chapter 12 points out, the Ford Motor Company in the UK has initiated recently the first British Joint-Programme, albeit only for active employees but not for redundant workers.

Lee Schore and Jerry Atkin from the Center for Working Life in California have been involved with unemployed car workers throughout the industrialised mid-west, but within the context of providing mental health and support services to dislocated workers. Concentrating on education and retraining programmes which have been designed to be easily accessible to workers in both a physical and psychological sense, the authors highlight the considerable psychological obstacles confronting blue-collar unemployed workers. Illustrating the importance of a variety of social support facilities and, in particular, the important role of peer counsellors, Schore and Atkin stress the effectiveness of pre-lay-off programmes as a means of overcoming these obstacles. In their concluding comments, the authors relate the experience of the Centre for Working Life to the existing rigid distinctions "that currently exist between life, work, and learning."

The Communication/Information System for the Unemployed (CISU) Project described by Otto Feinstein from Wayne State University, Michigan, in Chapter 5, represented an imaginative, far-sighted attempt to link telecommunications to face-to-face services through a coalition of numerous organisations. Using a variety of methods that "would combine mass media and organisational outreach with face-to-face cable and video assisted intensive services and referrals," the CISU project demonstrated the possibilities of keeping the issue of unemployment in its broadest and most specific aspects on the public agenda, "and thus empowered the service providers and the unemployed." The various outcomes of the project demonstrate the scale, complexity, and innovative character of the CISU project. Coalition-building amongst a range of agencies and organisations was the key element in providing both organisational support and general legitimacy for the project. The subsequent widespread international interest in the CISU programme illustrates not only the global nature of unemployment as an issue, but the desire to learn and adapt particular projects within different contexts.

In contrast to not only CISU but all the case studies reported in this book, Paul Fordham reports in chapter 6 on a national government funded project. The REPLAN programme was established in England and Wales in 1984 to **induce** change within the **existing** system of education and training offered to the adult unemployed. An analysis is provided of the changing parameters of the REPLAN programme in relation to experiences gained and the changing circumstances over a five year period. Using local examples to illustrate how the REPLAN "strategy for change...has worked in practice," the author concludes that "what started as an experimental policy thrust by central government has been transformed by professionals and field workers into a possible new mode of operation for adult continuing education as a whole"; a new mode of operation that will significantly increase access for groups traditionally considered marginal to the education and training system. "What was once a dream of the adult educators now becomes, in addition, a necessity for the changing labour market."

This central issue of access is developed further by David Browning in his chapter of the Open College Networks in the UK. The significant spread and success of these networks (which are primarily regional accreditation organisations) has highlighted issues of access, accreditation, and the urgent need for integration of vocational and general educational opportunities for all adults. Unlike REPLAN, these networks have not targeted unwaged people per se, but the sensitive accreditation of much (previously unrecognised) prior and current "learning" has benefited many unwaged people. The wider policy implications of these developments for education and training are also highlighted in this chapter.

In contrast to the case studies which include an "access" focus, chapter 8 reports on the editor's project involving British labour organisations' organisational and policy activities with unemployed people. The case study outlines briefly the developing educational partnership between university adult education and trade unions in the area of unemployment; "a partnership process," argue the authors, "which utilises critical education for collective social and political purposes." The development of regional and national education activities with unemployed representatives from the labour organisations' network of Centres for the Unemployed is underpinned theoretically by a concern for collective growth and development rather than the dominant traditional patterns of learning characterising universities, ie., an emphasis on the process of individual growth and development. It is significant that this work has been possible even within the context of the British government's attempt to restructure higher education along more commercial and "enterprising" lines.

Thus, emphasis on the collective as opposed to the individual again provides a central focus to Chapter 9 by George Burt on Community Business development in Scotland. While the catalyst for community business has been unemployment and the primary objective is the provision of services and the creation of jobs, the underlying motivation behind community business, whether in Scotland or elsewhere is "local **control** over this development" by the people in the communities themselves. After reviewing the dramatic growth in community enterprises over the last ten years in Scotland, the chapter concludes with a critical summary of the shortcomings of adult education, ie., an education practice "based on the teaching of courses which arise from theoretical categories that are not related to the sequence, needs, and problems of people setting up a project in practice...it is based in institutions alien to the community...it is a whole attitude that is alienating." Despite these problems and with only minimal state support, it is possible, as the experience of Scotland and other European examples testify, to provide an alternative form of economic activity for unwaged groups in the community that prioritises not the increasing agglomeration and centralisation of economic activity but instead local community control.

The final two chapters in the book move away from a case study format and instead provide an analysis of national and international data about unemployment on mainland Europe. Kenneth Abrahamsson, in Chapter 10, provides an overview of the changing conceptions within Swedish post-compulsory education of recurrent education and the labour market. With a national unemployment rate of less than two percent, the example of Sweden has attracted a significant amount of international interest. For those readers unfamiliar with the structure and organisational and policy objectives of the Swedish system of education, the chapter provides a concise summary of past and recurrent developments. The network of Folk High Schools and high participation rates within adult education (forty percent of the national adult population take part in some form of adult education in any particular year) are better known aspects of Sweden's past compulsory education. Less well known are the recent labour market training initiatives outlined towards the end of chapter 10. Despite the seeming success of the Swedish educational system in contributing towards a policy of full employment, Abrahamsson concludes his section with a number of important future policy issues and problems, the answers to which will shape and influence the "next stage of development within Sweden."

In the early part of this decade, youth unemployment was recognised as a major priority by many Western industrialised countries. In chapter 11, Christa Michiels analyses the initiatives which were taken in five Western European countries. The difficulties of comparative research, even allowing for different national systems, are illustrated by the lack of information about the "learning effects" and even the qualification effects of many programmes. From the experiences of youth unemployment programmes, critical questions are raised about the education and training needs of long-term unemployed people, and the necessity for future research to gain a "more concrete insight" into the needs of the long-term unemployed and the impact of various measures on them.

Apart from Chapter 11, the book generally is not a comparative study; rather, it utilises case studies which exemplify differing, or in some cases, overlapping perspectives from a wide range of settings. It thus reflects the **pattern** of responses which have been made in the 1980s, and it also highlights the importance of learning from recent developments.

There are numerous publications and books about the economics of employment and unemployment generally and labour market trends; there is also a significant number of publications about a major area of supply-side economics: the provision of education and training, and its importance for economic success. To a lesser extent, there are books about local employment initiatives or adult education (in a context of high employment and major economic changes) for individual, social, and collective development. It is not easy, however, to identify a literature which attempts to examine, or at least incorporate within discussion, each of these important strands. Clearly, an examination of such breadth cannot simply produce prescriptions, as the conclusion to this book makes clear. What it can do, however, is facilitate, or at least encourage, the development (both at local project or programme levels, and also at macro policy making levels) of a cross-sectoral approach which focuses in a **complementary** manner on the interaction between "civic" education and vocational knowledge. It is for this reason, primarily, that deliberately varied settings and perspectives are presented in this book.

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1. J. Jarrett, *Government Surplus*, Guardian, London, 6 April 1989.
2. R. Gilbert, *Employment in the 1990s*, Macmillan Press, London, 1989.
3. *Unemployment Unit Statistical Bulletin*, Unemployment Unit, London, March, 1989.
4. See chapter 8 for an analysis of one strand of this programme. More generally, see K. Ward and R. Taylor, *Adult Education and the Working Class: Education for the Missing Millions*, Croom Helm, London, 1986; L. Fraser and K. Ward, *Education From Everyday Living*, REPLAN/National Institute of Adult Continuing Education, Leicester, UK, 1988.

CHAPTER 1

Understanding Unemployment:

A Critical Overview of Labour Market Trends, Employment, and Unemployment

By John Hughes

Introduction

This chapter attempts to explore what has been happening both to employment and to unemployment in the 1980s. In doing so it picks up some major trends in the larger OECD economies, but comments in more detail and in a more disaggregated way on what has been happening both to employment and to unemployment in the United Kingdom (UK). Unavoidably, there has to be some discussion of the problems of measurement (and of conscious statistical manipulation) involved.

The argument moves on to suggest some of the possible reasons for the massive scale of unemployment in OECD countries, running around 30 million in the latter half of the

1980s, but notably concentrated in Europe (around 19 million in the same period). Again, the argument is pursued in rather more detail for the UK, if only to demonstrate the need for disaggregated analysis in trying to identify causes as well as outcomes.

Tentatively, the final section raises the question of some possible responses in face of the complex economic and social problems presented by the inheritance of massive unemployment and the uncertainties of international economic development.

Patterns of Employment and Unemployment

If one were to judge by international financial markets (at least until the stock market correction of October 1987), the major economies in recent years have seen both high and rising rates of return on financial and commercial assets, and this has led to sustained and dramatic rises in asset values (notably the prices of the equity shares of large corporations) as an indicator of confidence and expectations of rising profitability in the future. Turning to the "real" economy, the average growth in "real" gross domestic product across the OECD countries has been close to 3 percent per anum from 1985 onwards; so we are not looking today at unemployment from some "low" point in the business or trade cycle, but from what looks suspiciously near a "peak." Official forecasts assume slower real growth by 1989; there are distinct possibilities of more exchange rate turbulence ahead, given the major imbalances in trade and payments (not least that of the United States) and risks of recession at least for some countries (including the UK) by 1990. Even the official OECD forecasts assume a rise in unemployment by 1990.

So, the unemployment recently experienced is not the reflection of some cyclical recession--though we should not neglect the influence still of the cyclical rhythm of upswing and decline. Rather, it appears as the concomitant of "normal" rates of growth in real output (admittedly, that is to see earlier rates of post-war European growth as abnormally high) and of–in many instances–disproportionately rapid increases in corporate profitability.

It is often helpful to turn to unemployment data only after an initial review of what has been happening to employment. It is particularly important to turn to employment data when surveying the 1980s, since a number of special and unusual features are apparent.

Employment

The most evident contrast in recent years is between the stagnation or decline of employment that characterises the major European economies and the significant advance in employment in the United States. (Japan exhibits a modest employment growth over the 1980s.)

Employment in Germany, the UK, France, and Spain in 1987 was lower than at the beginning of the decade. (In Italy the total has been unusually stable, and has hardly changed). In France and Spain the employment decline continued in the mid 1980s, in Germany a limited employment recovery occurred from 1984; the UK, which experienced a particularly severe decline from 1979 to 1983, has shown a more marked recovery. The British case is worth noting in more detail subsequently, since much of the recovery until 1988 was in part-time female employment, and so far as employees were concerned the recovery was substantially limited to regions in the south of Britain.

Generally, the experience of the larger European economies has been one of a marked decline in **male** employment (Italy, with near stability, being the exception). This was partly offset by a minor rise in female employment (with the exception of Spain, where female employment also declined).

This experience links to the patterns of industrial or sectoral decline. Thus, in Italy, France, and Spain there were marked falls in employment in the agricultural sector. Instead of this, as in earlier post-war Europe, connecting with a rise in male dominated sectors of urban employment, both manufacturing and construction employment were in decline in the 1980s. The decline in manufacturing employment was most dramatic in the UK (a fall of 2 million, over one quarter, from 1979 to 1986) but strongly marked also in France and elsewhere; Germany was virtually alone in seeing a modest rise in manufacturing employment from 1984.

The sectors **expanding** employment in Europe in the 1980s showed some significant divergences from country to country. "Community, social, and personal services" expanded employment, but in several countries the rate was constrained by political resistance to the rising financial costs of public services. Italy was notable in raising employment in this sector by over a quarter between 1979 and 1986. This was a major factor in Italy's maintenance of employment levels overall. But, in the main, other European countries (including the UK) kept employment growth in the "community, social, and personal services" sector below 10 percent. The employment sector that showed disproportionate growth in the UK was one that was already strongly developed there, the "financing, insurance, business services" sector. From 1979 to 1987, employment in that sector in Great Britain rose by 700,000, a gain of over 40 percent. Elsewhere in Europe, this employment sector expanded more moderately.

The United States offers a sharp contrast to the near stagnation of overall employment in the main European countries. Employment in the USA in aggregate was virtually flat from 1979 to 1983 (around 100 million); from 1983 to late 1987 it has increased by 13 million. Over the whole period from 1979 to late 1987, the number of females employed grew by 10 million (almost 25 percent) to over 50 million. Male employment grew by just under five million (by 8.5 percent) to 62.5 million.

Employment trends for the major occupational groupings in the USA in this decade show some interesting contrasts. There has been a slowly falling trend in employment of production workers, both male and female. The numbers of those recorded as "sales workers" doubled for males and more than doubled for females. The number of clerical workers declined slightly–again, both for males and females. Perhaps the most dramatic contrast between the sexes is to be found in the two important occupational groups, "professional and technical" and "administrative and managerial." In these, the number of males in employment has been static (just under 17 million); the number of females in employment rose by over 40 percent to over 13 million. (The occupational data here has been taken from the ILO Yearbook and covers the period 1979 to 1986).

Employment Trends in Britain

The traumatic shifts in employment levels and employment location in Britain point not only to major structural weaknesses (in some cases industrial collapse) in the economy, but to massive consequential social problems.

The steep fall in full-time male employment from 1979-83 has not been reversed in the years of output expansion. By September 1987, full-time male employees in employment were estimated at 10.9 million for Great Britain–no higher than in the Employment Census three years earlier; the employment numbers were 1.46 million lower than in the Census of 1978 (a fall of 12 percent). But this massive fall was far from evenly spread either industrially or regionally. Total employment in the male manual dominated production and constructive industries fell from 9 million in 1979 to 6.5 million in 1987. The six regions worst affected by the fall in male employees in employment, which in 1979 accounted for half of total male employment, experienced nearly 80 percent of the job losses. In these worst affected regions (in order of severity of male job loss: Wales, the North West, Northern England, Yorkshire and Humberside, Scotland, and the West Midlands), the average decline in male employees in employment from 1979 to 1987 was 18 percent.

The same British regions emerge as worst affected by employment falls if we add to the analysis of male employees that for **full-time** female employees. Overall, full-time female employment fell by 6.5 percent from 1979 to 1984, and recovered over half that fall by 1987. But the recovery was overwhelmingly concentrated in four favourably affected regions (the South East, East Anglia, the South West, East Midlands), which showed full-time female employment gains of around 6 percent in 1984-87; while in the North West, Wales, and Scotland, full-time female employment continued to fall. The fall in full-time female employment was therefore most evident in the same regions that had experienced the most severe decline (and lack of recovery) in male employment. Taking male and full-time female employment together, the same six worst-affected regions of Britain suffered a fall of 1.5 million employees' jobs between 1979 and 1987 (a fall of 16 percent); over the same period the four most favourably affected regions saw a decline of only 130,000 employees' jobs (a fall of 1.4 percent). Yet in 1979, both sets of regions had the same total numbers in employment.

These figures point to profound structural changes in the economy, and deep seated structural problems in consequence. In substantial part, this is a matter of steep declines in production industries, and the regional incidence of their decline. Thus, the six worst-affected regions in employment terms all experienced employment falls of around **one-third** in manufacturing. But it also means that regions which had, because of their industrial structure, a very high proportion of male manual workers in employment may not benefit from the marked **occupational** switch to non-manual employment. In Britain's case, this was even less likely to occur since the most rapidly growing sector of non-manual employment, "banking, finance, and insurance," is disproportionately located in the South East; of the 700,000 gain in that sector of employment between 1979 and 1987, over half took place in the South East.

No discussion of employment trends in the 1980s should fail to emphasise the continuing switch away from manual employment towards non-manual employment. The **unemployment** of the 1980s has predominantly stemmed from declining **manual** employment; the **employment** pattern that has emerged is now predominantly **non-manual**. In 1986, adult full-time employees in employment in Britain consisted of some 8.75 million in non-manual occupations compared with 6.75 million manual.[1] For adult men there was still a small majority of manual employees (54 percent of the total), but because of higher average earnings the non-manual employees accounted for over half (55 percent) of the total adult male pay bill. The predominance of non-manual employment is even more evident, and indeed startling, if we think in terms of the total pay bill for employees; but 1986 non-manual workers accounted for over 61 percent of the total adult full-time employees pay bill in Britain.

The growth in employment in Britain in the 1980s has been taking place mainly outside the main categories of full-time employees. A modest increase has occurred in the number of part-time female employees, but only a rise of around one-third of a million to 4.25 million between 1979 and 1987. The significant increase has been in the estimated number of the self-employed, though the estimates have been subject to major revisions. From 1979 to 1987, a rise of over 800,000 to 2.7 million was recorded. However, the average "real" income of the self-employed person was lower in 1987 than it had been in 1979, suggesting that changes had been going on within this employment category. Self-employed incomes as a proportion of Gross Domestic Product rose only slightly from 8.8 percent of GDP in 1979 to 9.2 percent in 1987.

In summary, the employment changes in Britain, comparing 1987 with 1979, look like this:

> Full-time employees in employment have fallen by one-and-two-thirds million. This fall is

concentrated on manual employees (non-manual may have risen slightly). The fall is disproportionately concentrated in western and northern regions of the economy.

There has been a modest rise in the number of part-time female employees in employment; around one-third of a million.

There has been a rise of over 800,000 in the number of self-employed. This is spread across all regions, though rising more rapidly in the South East.[2]

Unemployment

The mass unemployment of the 1980s has invited comparisons with the 1930s. In many countries of Europe a more rapid employment recovery from the slump of the early 1930s was apparent; the persistence of high levels of unemployment over a substantial number of years is a widespread characteristic of the 1980s. The cyclicality of the business economy tends to concentrate the generation of higher unemployment in a comparatively short period in each business cycle; the downswing of the cycle was particularly marked and more prolonged than in earlier cycles for a number of countries in the early 1980s.

Thus, in the UK, unemployment rose by 125 percent to nearly 3 million between 1979 and 1982; in the United States it rose by 74 percent to 10.7 million over the same years. But in a number of continental European countries, a high rate of increase in unemployment was persistently encountered over an even more protracted period· in Spain from 1977 to 1984 unemployment rose fourfold to [illegible] million; in France, which also experienced rising unemployment in the late 1970s, there was a rise of 60 percent between 1978 and 1982, but then after a plateau in 1982 and 1983, a further steep rise of 18 percent in 1983-4 to bring the total to 2.3 million. It suggests that both cyclical and structural factors were at work.

Nor, apart from the USA and the UK in 1987-88, can we observe the rise in unemployment of the first half of the 1980s being reversed in a cyclical upswing of the economy. Indeed, the USA stands out as compared with the major European economies: by late 1987, its unemployment had fallen 4 million from the 1983 peak to a level–6.8 million–close to that of the late 1970s. Unemployment has stabilised close to its 1985 peak in Germany and Spain. It has continued to rise between 1984 and 1987 in Italy (up from 2.2 million mid year 1984 to 2.9 million mid-1987). In Europe, the **United Kingdom** appears something of an exception among the major economies in showing a significant decline in unemployment in 1987, which accelerated further in 1988; seasonally adjusted unemployment, excluding school leavers, had fallen from 3.2 million in the third quarter of 1986 to just under 2.5 million in April 1988.[3] (This has owed something to intensified administrative pressure on claimants, and to further expansion of government training programmes. It had been due rather more to an unbalanced boom–regionally concentrated in the South and Midlands, and characterised by a rapid and unsustainable deterioration in the balance of payments. The OECD is not alone in assuming that the UK's unemployment rate will move higher in 1990.)

The lack of any relief to the bleak picture of unemployment in Europe is emphasised by the latest OECD assessment of the major economies. The unemployment rate is expected to rise again in France and Italy as well as the UK, and to remain stable in Germany. It should be emphasised, however, that the experience of several of the smaller economies in Europe has been more varied, and points to the need for more disaggregated and more specifically analytical studies of labour markets and their management. The Netherlands, Belgium, and Denmark have experienced some alleviation of their high rates of unemployment since 1984, though all three countries continue to record very high rates of female unemployment. Switzerland, Sweden and Norway have succeeded in reducing further their extremely low unemployment rates. Australia has had the experience of some rise in its moderate unemployment rate in recent years, while Ireland has suffered a further worsening of its extremely high rate (to over 18 percent in 1986 and 1987).

Within these totals a number of countries in the 1980s showed particularly high rates of unemployment of their young workers, eg., in the USA, the UK, Italy, Spain, and France. (Germany, with its strong apprenticeship system, was significantly less affected). Some alleviation and reduction of these high rates and levels of unemployment occurred after the early 1980s, with the somewhat uneven development of youth training and employment schemes and, more recently, as a result of changes in the age structure. In some cases, however, the phenomenon of high unemployment rates among young adults (under 25) has been persistent.

The "structural" factors involved in the high unemployment of the 1980s have also meant that much of the recorded unemployment has been of long duration. In Britain "long term" unemployment, in the sense of unemployment for a continuous period of over one year, increased three-and-a-half times over between late 1980 and late 1983, to reach over 1.25 million. The level of such "long term" unemployment then stabilised at just over 1.33 million in 1985-86, before declining moderately in 1987. These very high levels of long term unemployment were recorded despite the efforts of government supported training agencies to "churn" the long term unemployment by offering training and "community" programmes, and despite changes in benefit systems to encourage long term unemployed men over 60 to withdraw from seeking work. Since the mid 1980s, over 40 percent of male unemployment and over 30 percent of female unemployment in the UK has been "long term" in this strict sense of protracted continuous unemployment; one should emphasise "protracted" since in the mid 1980s and after, 60 percent of the long term unemployed had been out of work continuously for over two years.

This structural dimension links with the large regional variations to be found within national economies. Thus, by late 1987, the male unemployment rate in the UK varied between under 8 percent in the South East to between 15 and 17 percent in the North, North West, and Scotland, and over 21 percent in Northern Ireland.

Measurement of unemployment trends is not made easier by frequent changes in classification in official figures, and by "churning" the labour market through "community" and other training and work programmes which may inflate recorded employment figures as they deflate recorded unemployment. Thus, the effect of a series of classification changes in the UK between October 1982 and October 1983 was to reduce the published figure for long term unemployment by nearly 300,000 below what it would have been on unchanged measurement and benefit systems.

We should also bear in mind that the recorded "rate" of unemployment may be misleading; thus, in the UK the recorded unemployed are claimants who, to retain that status, have to be available for **full-time** work. Yet the recorded rates of unemployment bear no relation to this factor (eg., in September 1987 there were 800,000 female unemployed in Britain on a seasonally adjusted basis; if the rate of unemployment had been related to full-time female employees and those seeking full-time work, then it would have been 12.8 percent. It was officially recorded, however, as only 7.2 percent.)

Why So Much Unemployment?

The OECD's "Economic Outlook," using past statistics and estimates for the near future, shows unemployment in the OECD countries staying close to 30 million throughout the second half of the decade of the 1980s. The North American figures fortunately imply a fall of two million to around 7.5 million. But the European figures are assumed to be around 19 million, and on a slowly rising trend after 1987. What factors can be said to be influencing such persistently high unemployment?

To start with, we need to recognise the essential nature of the process of development of modern commercial capitalism. An influential economist, Schumpeter, captured the dynamic in the phrase "creative destruction." Progress, in the sense of new products, radically new technology, or improved and lower cost processes, goes hand in hand with displacement, decline, and in Schumpeter's term–"destruction." This is all the more evident if new production centres reduce some or all of the market share of old centres of economic activity in other locations. (This happens within countries as well as between countries, eg., the move of manufacturing plants away from the old conurbations.) We cannot assume pure gain in "efficiency" in such locational shifts; in mature economies the established enterprises may be expected to share more in the financing of public services, or be subject to higher standards of control in terms of safety, pollution, etc. (Thus, in Europe there are important elements of cost imposed on the labour costs of enterprise apart from salary bills, and considerable transfers through local and national taxation, as well as environmental controls.)

So, innovation in new products and processes–often backed by large-scale R & D spending programmes in multi-national companies–may push aside the previous generation of products and displace part or all of their associated plants, labour forces, and skills. Recent advances in electronics and information technology have involved displacement of "old" capital and labour skills on a widening scale. Such combined development and displacement may be difficult to handle even if, within a region or a country, development broadly matches displacement. But what may become entrenched is a cumulative concentration of these forces of development in certain areas and cumulative decline in others. Inequalities may become more marked; development and under-development may be causally linked rather than separate phenomena.

Inadequacies in labour market services, in training, and perhaps even more in education, may seriously hamper adaption (especially for the displaced adult manual workers). The adaptation that may currently be required is a daunting one as new technology and new service industries replace in the employment structure the old "heavy" industries with their labour-intensive male manual work.

In this context, it is all too simple-minded to argue that organised labour may carry major responsibility for the generation of unemployment, eg., by "excessive" pressure for higher wages. The British experience in the 1980s is illuminating. From 1979 to 1987 the "real" pay (gross money wages adjusted for changes in consumer prices) of full time non-manual workers rose by nearly 30 percent; but their employed numbers did **not** fall and their proportion of total employment became the dominant one. By contrast, manual workers saw their "real" pay advance by less than 10 percent; although labour productivity rose rapidly, their employment contracted sharply. Clearly, there were dynamic factors at work shifting the occupational balance drastically, and employment and pay reflected the pull of those dynamic requirements rather than any mechanical constraint through pay levels.

In terms of employment creation or displacement, what matters are comparative labour costs rather than pay levels by themselves. The other crucial factors besides pay are productivity trends and exchange rates; thus, in 1987-88 in the UK, manufacturing sector productivity rose strongly and led to only minor increases in sterling wage costs per unit of output; but **comparative** labour costs rose considerably due to the appreciation of the sterling exchange rate. The comparative cost increase, which represents a deterioration in competitiveness, will curtail export growth and invite more import penetration of the home (UK) market. Is it particularly rational to blame the power balance that led to pay increases, rather than the interest rate and general economic management policies that raised the exchange rate?

It is more to the point to emphasise that employment has been constrained in the 1980s because "real" rates of interest have been high. Freedom of capital movement globally, a very active and aggressive management of asset portfolios through the capital markets of the world, has not only helped to force up real rates of return in terms of interest rates; it has also led companies to pursue higher real rates of return on their assets (stimulated by the threat–and opportunity–of "take-overs" by (or of) other companies). "Rationalisation" in the form of closure of older, labour-intensive, plants or drastic re-manning together with re-organisation of capital assets, has all been part of the drive towards the raising of short term corporate profitability. This context, and high real interest rates, has constrained capital investment in additional capacity–instead much of the capital investment has displaced labour in a pursuit of cost reductions. A significant part of the bounding profit advance of the 1980s has come directly from the pay-bill effects of large scale displacement of workers from employment; in the UK in the first half of the 1980s the share of wages and salaries in national income fell by 5 percent of GDP, while the profit share rose commensurately.

In the face of all these market pressures, a narrow protectionism would have offered little effective security. The ever increasing dominance of multi-national companies in the major markets has meant that the pace and location of development has rested more on the "scenarios" of their forward planning and their strategic choices than on any barriers to competition erected by national governments. But while economies have become more "open" and inter-dependent, there has been little sign of more balanced international trade and exchange; currency turbulence has been strongly in evidence, and payments imbalances large and destabilising.

In such circumstances, the defensive qualities of European mixed economies with their elaborated "welfare' 'systems might have come to the fore. But the handling of the increased transfer payments required did not merely put strain on state budgets–

especially in the periods of business cycle recession; there were also challenges from political parties emphasising the "burdens" of the maintenance of collective public services and welfare benefits. Instead, political preference was given to substantial income tax cuts. One would have to take the UK as an example of such a changed political configuration further exaggerating regional differentiation. Curtailment of levels of state benefit to the unemployed, and an absence of any offsetting increase in spending on public services, worsened the downward multiplier effect on incomes and employment in the regions disproportionately affected by falling employment in production industries. The beneficial impact on demand of "reforms" of tax systems and substantial income tax cuts was most influential in the regions with the highest per capita incomes and the most positive experience of new employment opportunities. (Thus, in the UK, the South East region, with per capita income 13 percent higher than the UK average, enjoyed an increase in real disposable income of 12.5 percent from 1983 to 1986; over the same period, Scotland, with per capita income only 95 percent of the UK average, secured no more than a 5.4 percent increase in real disposable income; Northern Ireland, with average income only 76 percent of that of the UK, saw a 2.5 percent decline in its real disposable income over the same 1983-86 period).

Responses

As in the 1930s, we need to be conscious that certain kinds of policy responses to problems of economic development and employment at the national level may be in large part "beggar my neighbour" remedies. In international trade and payments, this is particularly relevant to competitive currency devaluation. Unemployment may be exported, only to provoke counter measures. Besides, particular countries resorting to currency devaluation frequently may find that instead of releasing a major opportunity for faster economic development, devaluation pushes higher cost inflation (via higher import costs, and compensatory wage and benefit income increases) into the economy and erodes the initial advantage in comparative costs. The UK had devalued in face of each recession in the business cycles since 1967, and thereby temporarily released the constraint on economic growth; it will doubtless do so again by 1990 in face of its present inability to grow further without a rapidly worsening balance of international payments, and in face a virtually unavoidable recession. Repeated devaluation has not stopped an increase in unemployment in each successive business cycle over the last twenty years.

More might be hoped from an active search for a more co-operative and co-ordinated approach by groups of major countries (eg., in Europe). The dangers of trade imbalance as a barrier to national economic growth can be less acute if development is pursued in a more balanced way by a larger group of trading nations, such as the constituent members of the European Community. Since exchange rate policies are a matter of mutual concern, it is better to seek to co-ordinate these and the associated internal policies of demand management, rather than to become trapped–in the name of state "sovereignty"–in unilateral currency devaluation and other forms of trade retaliation.

The emphasis on the nation state "enabling" and assisting economic development rather than exerting a mechanical and authoritarian "sovereignty" has its significance also inside the territory of the nation state. Given the urgency of a more balanced and more sustained process of long term economic development and job creation, the state can be and should be constructively interventionist. It should be encouraging, and itself active in, a series of development dialogues. These include concern with the spread of development rather than its concentration, and this involves the improvement of "social" capital and infra-structure services, in partnership with local and regional communities and their government.

The development "dialogues" that are needed are concerned both with the efficiency and the social responsibility of development; for instance, in the operation and growth of monopolistic public utilities and needs-based social services, as well as the whole range of commercial enterprise and initiative. The state should be encouraging a wider role for workers and their representatives in these forward looking dialogues and in the bargaining about resources, priorities, and allocation of funds in the development process; in this, there is a wide range of good practice in continental European economies that can be built on. (We could take as an example the scope for more active and socially responsible trusteeship in the fiscally privileged pension and other capital funds, as well as more constructive "industrial relations" practice.) One thing we can have no doubt about: a strengthening of all aspects of education and training, of the development of "human capital," is vital. Much more of that than has been traditionally the case needs to be aimed as a resource at the adaptation and development of the **adult** population--not least those displaced or disadvantaged by the unbalanced and rapidly changing economy we inherit from the 1980s.

What has been sketched above is more than, and different from, the old forms and styles of "public sector" provision. It envisages new alliances, new forms of partnership, new flexibility, in place of old rigidities. It envisages new patterns of responsibility, of state support, and of state or self-regulation. Social practice may be moving in that direction faster than we recognise.

To take a UK example, that of the contested area of "nationalisation" and "privatisation" of industry: the old style public industries and nationally owned and managed utilities had a fairly rigid frontier drawn round them, partly by legislation, partly by managerial and governmental practice. Within that frontier they may have enjoyed a high degree of legislatively generated monopoly, but the frontier also constrained their wider diversification and development. "Development" for them took the form, in the main, of capital investment in advancing technology, using the scope given for economies of large scale; but this meant a massive and persistent displacement of their (largely male manual) labour forces. Wider product development and diversification, risk taking and initiative, job creation as well as job displacement–all these were largely absent. This is not to argue against public ownership as such, but against the forms and functions chosen. But the contrasting "privatisation" is not a simple transfer to commercial exploitation; instead it can include the elaboration of new patterns of regulatory principles and agencies, with the best practice already encouraging a widening process of consultation, publicity, and open debate.

In a similar way, it would appear necessary to build on previous traditions and value systems involving the acceptance by our political communities of social welfare and social democratic responsibilities. There is an urgency about this that stems from the dangers of rapidly and cumulatively increasing inequalities undermining and disintegrating both the aspirations and the realities involved in a pursuit of common citizenship and shared access to the wealth and creativity of modern society. This does not imply an indefinite enlargement of state delivered collective and personal services, or state employed professionalism dominating the "caring" processes; the transfer costs are all too daunting.But it does not either imply a retreat towards provision by profit-orientated business benefiting the "haves" rather than the "have-nots." There is, instead (whether we adopt an optimistic or a pessimistic view of the capacity of our societies to cope with structural change, inequality, and the displacement processes that have been described), an evident need for more voluntary and community based organisation and initiative. In the field of social policy, and that includes human development and adaptation reinforced by relevant education and training, the state and its agencies will need to reach out for more constructive relationships with the immense variety of voluntary organisations in the adult world that are pursuing self-appointed goals of service and development. New relations and "partnerships" emerge, often in a piecemeal and somewhat painful way, out of constrained resources, inadequate provision, and manifest social need. Voluntary organisations can, after all, express particular interests and group needs, and in doing so reflect the diversity of cultures (value systems, creativity, organisational modes) in our societies in a way that state organisation itself cannot adequately do. This diversity is of the utmost importance in multi-racial societies with complex class structures and dramatic differences in the human (community) and physical environment; important not least when it emerges from the disadvantaged.

In practice, the re-direction of citizen and state activity, in new responses to development needs, connects with the re-organisation and re-thinking of working life. We are only slowly moving towards a recognition of what may come out of the re-balancing of paid work, socially constructive shared activity, and "leisure." The old norms of adult male manual working time persist awkwardly alongside mass unemployment. The now dominant norms of non-manual work–over the year and over working life–are themselves changing. Increased flexibility in working time and its location, as well as many undesired features of casualised or insecure work, pose new needs but also new opportunities. A socially committed process of continuing adult education has to grow into the "social space" that has–in many cases so unequally and damagingly–opened up as the sheer dominance of paid work in adult life slowly recedes.

Notes

1. In the late 1970s the two categories of adult employees in employment were almost equal in number, with over 8 million in each.
2. Later estimates of the labour force, only published in March 1989, suggest that employment rose more strongly in 1987 and 1988 than previously assumed. The latest estimates are for an employment increase of over 700,000 in the year to September 1988; unusually also over three-quarters of this

number are assumed to consist of full-time jobs. If these figures are approximately correct they reflect the exceptional boom in demand that developed in 1988.

3. And a further fall to 2 million by early 1989.

CHAPTER 2

A Critical Overview:

Education and Training Responses to Changes in the Labour Market and Unemployment

By Kevin Ward and Keith Forrester

Introduction

Throughout western industrialised nations, there has been, during the 1980s, a proliferation of training and education schemes for unemployed people, as well as an increasing emphasis on retraining and continuing education generally.

One of the major "official" concerns has been to train people in order to get them back to work. "The 'get-them-off-the-register' impulse has spawned work-sharing initiatives and early retirement. The 'give-them-something-to-do' concern has underpinned huge training and job-creation programmes."[1] Also, training "the workers of today with the skills of tomorrow" has become a dominant theme in many countries.

In addition to training or "employability" programmes, some adult education providers in various countries have also taken action (although it is worth noting that the impact of the education system on unemployment appears to be less than that of unemployment upon education). Thus, many educational (as distinct from "employability") schemes, courses, and activities for unemployed people have been organised both by educational providers and by a range of other organisations such as trade unions and voluntary bodies.

In many countries, there has also been a growth of local initiatives concerned with job-creation, economic regeneration, and "social development." Sometimes they have been linked to training and/or educational schemes, but they appear often to have been separate developments.

A number of major problems emerge from this simplistic synopsis of responses to changes in the labour market, including unemployment, in the 1980s.

First of all, there is a lack of comprehensive, up-to-date information. No one knows precisely what all the responses have been or currently are. There is no comprehensive quantitative database available about the range of initiatives and developments; there is certainly no qualitative information available about the context, objectives, outcomes, and research and policy implications of a range of initiatives, both within different countries and across countries. Thus, there is a major research, monitoring, and evaluation problem.

Another major issue (which inhibits comparative analysis and joint learning) concerns definitions and terminology. There is, for example, no common agreement about statistical or policy usages of the term "unemployed." For their own political purposes, national governments tend to issue different figures from varying bases; yet many adult educators and workers with "unemployed" people tend in practice to adopt a broad definition of unemployment which includes large numbers of unwaged people (particularly women) who, according to government definition in the UK at least, are not formally counted as registered unemployed. (This broad definition is used throughout this chapter.) Also, there seems to be no common international agreement about definitions of education and training. The words have different meanings in different countries and relate in policy terms to different government departments and structures. In addition, there is no common agreement about what constitutes an "adult" in the context of education and training. Similarly, there is often lack of clarity about terms such as continuing education, liberal adult education, and adult general education.[2]

In the context of these problems (major research problems and the lack of a common and clearly understood terminology), this chapter attempts a critical overview of education and training responses to unemployment and also refers to local employment initiatives and trade union responses in the 1980s.

The aim of the chapter is to present essential background information and raise a number of important issues which are followed up in more detail in other chapters. These issues include: lack of co-ordination between the wide range of initiatives which have developed; problems over monitoring and evaluation, and hence, often, lack of precise information about outcomes; the need for more discussion about the objectives of particular initiatives,[3] and the policy issues arising from them; and also, questions about the significant involvement–or the lack of it–of unwaged people in developing initiatives and contributing to policy.

These and other crucial questions are examined in the case-studies which follow, and reinforce the need to compare and learn from the wide range of experiences of the 1980s.

Education and Training Responses: Vocational Education and Training (VET)– A Central Issue But a Narrow Focus?

It was stated in the Introduction that a broad definition of responses to unemployment should be adopted. A recent research report for the EEC on education, training, and counselling policy measures for the long-term unemployed agreed with this: "Such measures are interpreted widely to embrace all forms of vocational preparation and human resource development, thus blurring the distinction usually made between education and training."[4]

This report (drawing heavily on reports from the Commission of the European Communities of OECD, various government bodies, and research institutes in the member states) claims to evaluate the nature and scope of such policies. It provides a useful summary of the principal measures adopted by the member states (up to 1987) and classifies them under various generic headings (special work-programmes, fostering self-employment, personalised counselling, etc.). These measures have been designed to achieve one or more of three broad objectives: (i) overt job creation in the public sector, (ii) direct job creation in the private sector through financial incentives, and (iii) counselling, training, or retraining for the long-term unemployed. It is argued, however, that (ii) is relatively ineffective and that (i) is limited as a vehicle for developing vocational skills. It criticises the short-term, narrowly reactive nature of many measures for the long-term unemployed and argues for long-term, integrative, high quality vocational education and training with national recognition.

There are, of course, major differences between the education and training policies of different industrialised countries. Examination of VET systems in Japan, France, and Sweden, for example, indicates that education and training in these countries operates within the context of a wider system of economic planning and social partnership[5]–notions which have not only never been fully developed in Britain, but which the Government there has opposed implacably in the past decade.

One major difference is about the role of the state. A major strand running through the history of training since the 1960s has been the increasing responsibility of the central state. In Sweden, France, and West Germany, at least, the role of the state is extremely important in providing a legislative and co-ordinating framework for VET. In contrast, in Britain the announcement by the government of Training and Enterprise Councils (TECs), under the control of local businesspeople and industrialists, in 1989, marks the culmination of a fundamental shift in policy: responsibility of training rests primarily with individual employers; the voluntaristic efforts of local businesspeople in co-ordinating local initiatives, together with the free play of market forces will, apparently, ensure the appropriate volume and quality of training provision.[6]

There is certainly recognition in Britain that VET is a problem, but the TEC initiative outlined above (which is opposed by many trade unionists, educationalists, and also some employers) is illustrative of the lack of a coherent national framework. Although there has been a multiplicity of VET schemes in Britain over the past decade, there is no overall "system" and there is no statutory framework which could underpin one. In addition, in Britain there is a dearth of reliable up-to-date information about the precise aims, outcomes, and costs of various programmes and training initiatives both within sectors, across sectors, and also "outside" sectors (ie., labour market programmes aimed at unemployed people).[7]

Adequate information is essential for any micro or macro planning, policy making, and evaluation, and the lack of accurate data is a distinctive feature of British initiatives. This is in marked contrast to some of the detailed information available about many other national VET systems,[8] although there are still many unanswered questions. For example, a recent analysis of training in Sweden, in a context of "full" employment and a clear legislative framework developed by the central state, concluded that, although labour market training should increase the number of people who are employed, "it is difficult to know the extent to which it does so, if at all....as a mechanism for promoting structural adjustment and economic growth, it is not clear how far labour market training has prevented so called 'structural unemployment' by preventing skill bottlenecks from arising or persisting, or whether it has been a cost-effective way of boosting employment and upgrading the workforce. The methodology has not been adequately developed for assessing its success or failure or the extent to which it should be expanded further...in sum, there are numerous unanswered questions despite many years of experience of labour market training...moreover, subsidised in-plant training gives 'insiders' an income and employment advantage relative to jobseekers and other 'outsiders,' particularly in times of high unemployment. Far from combating unemployment, it may exacerbate it by boosting the numbers of long term unemployed whose labour market difficulties intensify the longer they are jobless.'"[9]

These fundamental questions illustrate the need which was referred to at the beginning of this chapter for a more comprehensive understanding of how VET, as well as other adult education initiatives, operate, and what their outcomes are. Without this information and analysis, it will be difficult to arrive at more effective long term policy prescriptions.

It is not a question of simple "lesson transference," however, because of the interlocking range of historical, institutional, and societal factors which differ–to a greater or lesser extent–in each country. One factor in Britain, for example, is the low level of education and training of the managerial workforce.[10] In this context, it may be that they do not perceive a lack of training amongst other employees as a major problem. Evidence in support of this is available in the first detailed recent overview of employers provision of training in the UK. The study found that fewer than one third of employers had training plans.[11]

A different example from Sweden illustrates further the difficulties of simple "lesson transference." All enterprises with annual profits of over 5 million Skr. in 1985 had to put 10 percent into a fund for further education or training or for research and development, as agreed between employer and union representatives. This scheme (the "Renewal Funds") could not have worked without the historical infrastructure of adult education; the development and broadly understood use of adult education in various forms meant that barriers to educational usage could be overcome more easily in Sweden than in many other countries.[12]

In spite of these major caveats about simple "lesson transference," the fact remains that more comparative understanding of the context, operation, and outcomes of a variety of schemes is an essential pre-requisite of policy formulation.

The chapter on responses to youth unemployment in five different countries is one example of recent work in this area. The EEC report on education, training, and counselling measures referred to earlier[13] stressed the need to blur the distinction usually made between education and training, and to adopt wide interpretations. It is surprising then, that in spite of this, the report focuses purely and exclusively on the need for vocational education–re-equipping the labour force of today (covering those at work as well as the long-term unemployed) with the skills of tomorrow. Whilst accepting that this is a crucial, central issue, an exclusive focus on it means that many other responses to unemployment which are not totally vocational in character are omitted. It is for this reason that this section concentrates on an overview of other responses to unemployment which are not focused exclusively on vocational education.

The impact of unemployment has had both specific and general effects on educational institutions and "traditional" adult educators.

At a general level, unemployment, together with other broad socio-economic developments such as demographic and technological changes have led to a questioning of the priorities, strategies, and to a limited extent also, of the aims and objectives of educational institutions in many countries.

This questioning, however, has been heavily influenced, if not determined in many instances, by national governments' economic policies and ideological interests which may reflect particular views about the need for an exclusive emphasis (as described above in the EEC Report) on "employability" or training for jobs. In Britain, for example, "Further Education Colleges" have utilised, and in some cases become heavily dependent on, finance from the central government's Department of Employment to provide a wide range of training courses. In the higher education sector there has been increasing interest in the notion of "continuing education" and particularly "professional continuing education" or "post experience vocational education."[14]

Thus, in Britain (perhaps more belatedly than elsewhere), a two-tier system of vocational education has been reinforced. A wide range of "low" to "middle" level courses in public sector institutions and, more recently, the growth of (supposedly) high level vocational updating courses (which are also, in the spirit of the "Enterprise Culture" intended to be profit-making) in universities and polytechnics.

Generally, the separation of "management" and "worker" VET programmes, as well as the gross disparity of resources between them,[15] is another illustration of the need to adopt a policy framework which includes examination of such questions. This need for a public policy framework for education and training is referred to later in this chapter.

Beyond Training for Jobs

At the same time, adult educators who do not provide primarily vocational education (ie., the "traditional" providers of adult education, such as the local education authorities in Britain, and university adult education and national voluntary organisations such as the Workers Education Association [the WEA]), as well as being affected by the priorities and pressures outlined above, have responded also in other ways to long-term structural unemployment.

Thus, since the early 1980s, there has been a proliferation of educational (as distinct from training or employability) schemes, courses, and activities for unemployed people organised sometimes by adult educators but also by a range of other organisations and voluntary bodies. Sometimes existing courses and projects have been modified or adapted in order to attract unwaged people, but in addition, special unemployed projects and courses have been initiated in many areas.

In Belgium, for example, "a large spectrum of initiatives was developed, spread throughout the whole Flemish country. There are few municipalities without initiatives to provide unemployed people with information, education, defence of interests, animation, and recreation. Certain areas where unemployment is high....also count a concentration of initiatives...."[16] Similar generalisations could be made about developments in Britain.

It has been argued, however, that these developments overall were patchy, piecemeal, and ad-hoc.[17] Certainly, they have been dependent in many cases on short-term projects, or temporary staff, and the effects of these programmes, numerically at least, on unwaged people must be marginal.

The following conclusions drawn from experiences in Flanders may well apply to developments in many other countries: "The most remarkable feature of all these initiatives is the great lack of co-ordination, the absence of a central orientation, and the lack of stimulating (non-financial) and regulating measures."[18]

The proliferation of schemes is illustrated in the following quotation: "[In 1981] it would have been unthinkable to run a day conference on unemployment without unemployed people. It shows how different things are now [1988]. The day was organised to share the work of several projects with professional workers who now provide a wide range of learning opportunities for unemployed people...working **with** the unemployed seems now to be working **for** the unemployed–a conceptual shift indeed."[19]

This quotation implies that although there has been an expansion of projects, they have not led either to the significant involvement of unwaged people or the development of an independent social movement.

It is beyond the scope of this chapter to examine "social movements" or the complex range of reasons why there has been no independent organisation of unemployed people in 1980s, as there was in the 1930s. In Britain, for example, the National Unemployed Workers' Movement was an important political and organisational response to unemployment at that time.[20]

There are embryonic networks in Europe and in North America, but these cannot as yet be categorised as independent social movements; at least not if one understands social movement to include a system of practices which leads to a substantial change in the balance of forces within the political system as a whole.[21] In Europe, for example, the First West European Network of Unemployed People (FWENU) has organised several conferences with support from the World Council of Churches; in France, there is the Association Syndicate des Chomeurs; in the United States, a number of unemployed committees were established at local and state levels by 1982, and in 1983 attempts were made to establish a national organisation of the unemployed; in Britain, campaigns and meetings have been organised under the umbrella of the Trades Union Congress (TUC) Centres Against Unemployment; and in Ireland, the Irish National Organisation of the Unemployed is a federation of unemployed associations and action groups from Northern and Southern Ireland.

One crucial question for adult educators in this context, then, is the extent to which–if at all–they should be involved in supporting or servicing such embryonic developments. This, in turn, raises questions about the aims and the objectives as well as the outcomes of current and recent initiatives.

It has recently been argued in relation to developments in Britain, that initiatives for the unemployed in the 1980s can be examined critically in two phases: c. 1980-1985, and 1985 following. From 1980 to 1985, there was a move in adult education with unemployed people from marginality to relative expansion; from 1985 onwards, questions can be raised about whether there is a move from expansion to encapsulation or empowerment.[22]

From Marginality to Expansion

Although the developments in the first phase (approximately 1980-85) were (as stated earlier) ad-hoc, unco-ordinated, and piecemeal, initiatives over this period were taken both by educational bodies and also by non-educational organisations and institutions. Reference has already been made to action taken by the municipalities in many parts of Belgium.[23] In Britain, a number of local education authorities who had already developed significant work with "disadvantaged" adults gradually extended this to include specific projects with unwaged people; the Workers' Educational Association, University Adult Education Departments, and some of the Residential Adult Colleges also established new courses and projects.

There were also significant developments through non-educational organisations (and these sometimes involved close links with educational providers). The Trade Union Congress (TUC) set up (with central government funding initially) a network of centres for the unemployed. From 1981-85, 210 such centres were established throughout Britain. Centres were also established in Austria, France, Ireland, Sweden, and the Federal Republic of Germany.[24]

Several of the case-study chapters analyse trade union responses in detail (see chapters 3, 5, and 8), and it is interesting to compare the differing responses made by the TUC in Britain and the United Automobile Workers (UAW) in the United States as they responded to large-scale plant closures.

Voluntary organisations have also played a significant role in recent developments. In many areas, they have initiated a wide variety of schemes for the unemployed and unwaged, sometimes in partnership and with finance from local authorities and others. These initiatives include skills workshops, drop-in-centres,

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community enterprises, co-operatives, and skills and learning exchanges.[25]

Some of these initiatives are examined in detail in the "Community Business Scotland" case study, and it is significant that a large number of local employment initiatives (LEIs) have developed in many countries: "LEIs have become a movement of those who have decided to take action and to innovate at the local level to combat unemployment. Whilst they have gone rather unnoticed until recently, LEIs are now becoming a part of the economic and employment picture in many OECD countries."[26]

During this phase (1980-85) then, apart from the predominance of government training schemes, there is evidence of increased activity and a variety of initiatives in many countries, whilst at the same time, a lack of co-ordination and limited links across initiatives in different sectors.

One attempt to provide co-ordination over **educational** responses to unemployment (which is the focus of another of the case studies) at a national level occurred in Britain in 1984 when the government established the REPLAN project (a national programme to improve educational opportunities for unemployed adults). Although criticisms were made at the time about its temporary nature, lack of clarity about aims and objectives, and its limited financial scope, it was at least a reflection of long overdue concern in various adult education quarters that "something must be done" **educationally** for unwaged adults in addition to government training programmes.

What, then, are the major issues and lessons, particularly in educational work with unwaged adults in this phase of "marginality to relative expansion" (1980-85)?

Primarily, unemployment has provided a new constituency for educational institutions and traditional providers of adult education. Although there have always been large numbers of adults who have been effectively excluded from post-school educational opportunities (even in times of so-called "full employment") the recent unemployment crisis has highlighted this issue of the "missing millions."

In order to contact these people, the majority of the educational initiatives described so far were not institution-based but community-based. Courses and activities took place in community centres, nurseries, church halls, and unemployed centres, rather than in educational institutions. For these community-based programmes to succeed, effective outreach and pre-course negotiations are of paramount importance. Outreach has been defined as "a process whereby people who would not normally use adult education are contacted in non-institutional settings and become involved in attending and eventually in jointly planning and controlling activities, schemes, and courses relevant to their circumstances and needs."[27] According to this definition, outreach is much more than simply additional or new types of publicity for pre-existing educational packages. Without effective outreach, however, the new constituency of unwaged adults will not become involved significantly in education.

Successful projects have also adopted specific targeting approaches and emphasised inter-agency coordination. Thus, courses have been organised with groups of older adults, Asian women, tenants, community groups, etc. There is certainly evidence (in some countries) of increased inter-agency collaboration in recent years.[28] This has helped avoid overlap and duplication, and maximised scarce resources; in addition, it has in some areas led to a more comprehensible range of opportunities for unwaged adults. In some unemployed centres or community centres, for example, there are daytime opportunities ranging from practical courses, recreational/leisure activities, through to social purpose courses. Various parts of these programmes are financed by different providers; and voluntary organisations have become involved increasingly in discussion about the priorities, roles, and approaches both of educational institutions and adult educators.

One result of these varied initiatives from 1981 to 1985 has been the development of networks of adult educators and voluntary organisations in a number of local authority areas or regions. More recently, this has been supported by the REPLAN programme in Britain. Although these are at a relatively early state and need to overcome many organisational and practical problems, they can provide forums for co-ordination, support, and a critical examination of policy (or, rather, the lack of it) for unwaged adults. Some of the key issues about networks or coalitions of institutions and groups responding to unemployment are examined in the CISU case study (Communication and Information Systems for the Unemployed) from Detroit.

In spite of these positive developments, it could still be argued that many initiatives were simply "moral panic"[29] responses which were lacking in clarity over aims and objectives, and provided insufficient information about outcomes.

It seems in this first phase that inadequate monitoring and evaluation procedures often meant that lessons were lost, short-term developments not always consolidated, and, also, the implications of various aims and objectives were not assessed rigorously.

In spite of the fact that these developments overall have been piecemeal and uneven--some would even argue tokenistic--they have raised fundamental questions for educational institutions and adult educators in Britain and elsewhere.

Some of these critical questions for adult educators arising out of the first phase, as outlined above, are: the need for outreach; the adoption of broader community-based roles for adult educators; and the need for more effective inter-agency collaboration. More recently, however, questions have been raised about educational institutions as well.

If the first phase represented a move in this area of work from marginality to expansion, questions can be raised about whether the second phase (1985 following) represents a move from expansion to encapsulation or empowerment.

From Expansion to Encapsulation or Empowerment?

Throughout 1986 and 1987, educational activities with unwaged adults seem to have levelled out, in Britain at least. Some REPLAN projects have finished, but a limited number of new ones started; the number of TUC centres has dropped from a peak of 210 in 1985 to 149 in 1989, but an increasing number are now supported by local authorities, or run voluntarily, rather than being funded through government temporary job-creation programmes.[30] In many local authorities, there is increasing awareness that the long-term nature of structural unemployment requires long-term, rather than piecemeal and ad-hoc responses.

The major question is: what precisely will the nature of these responses be? In Britain, adult education, or at least community adult education, is marginal in resource terms compared to other educational institutions. Reference was made earlier to increasing emphasis in further education colleges on low-level skill-based courses financed by the government. "Whilst seeing some benefit in the concern of central government in further education, it must be recognised that this has over-stressed the importance of courses relating to 'employability.'"[31]

Colleges, then, are in danger of becoming centrally-controlled training agencies. As a result of demographic changes, financial problems, and the imposition of political priorities, they have accepted in many cases a purely instrumental vocational approach --the concept of training as preparation for work. Higher education institutions (as was mentioned earlier), for similar demographic reasons and the need to exploit new sources of funding, have enthusiastically--albeit belatedly--accepted another form of the training model. In this case, it is continuing education primarily seen as the provision of Post Experience Vocational

Education (PEVE) for updating purposes.

The continuing ideological and financial dominance of the training model in educational institutions may mean that other (for example, community-based) educational responses to unemployment may remain marginalised or become encapsulated. Encapsulation occurs when a particular development (in this case innovatory educational work with unwaged people), organisation, or social movement is modified or taken over by more dominant forces.[32]

A particular example illustrates this point. In one major city in the UK, adult education staff who had previously organised general adult education in community settings were instructed by local politicians to concentrate instead on vocational courses. The only part of general adult education seen as desirable was adult basic education (literacy and numeracy), since this could be seen as preparatory training. This random example, then, is not **integration** (of different types of vocational training and general adult education) but **encapsulation**.

In Belgium, it has been claimed that, by 1985, the previously broad range of initiatives for the unemployed (albeit uncoordinated) evolved more and more into a focus for re-employment[33]; obviously a desirable objective for many people in general terms, but it would be interesting if future research could indicate whether in practice a similar process as in the example above has been occurring, with stress laid purely on individualised training for hoped-for employability.

There is, then, in this more recent phase, the danger of encapsulation; but there are a number of contradictory developments, in Britain at least, and it would be interesting, again, to know whether a similar thing is happening elsewhere.

Partly because of demographic changes (for example, the implications in Britain of a fall of 30 percent from the mid 1980s to the year 2000 in the traditional 16-19 year-old student population of further education colleges), educational institutions are being forced to re-examine the composition of their student bodies. Thus, even in some traditional elitist universities with limited numbers of mature students, there is some pressure for access courses, revised admission procedures, and more emphasis on the needs of mature students generally. Colleges and polytechnics have been quicker to respond, and there are currently some interesting developments aimed at integration rather than encapsulation:

> Open Colleges are a major advance in UK adult and continuing education. There are ten. Their common focus is access: to flexible learning; to student-centred approaches; to Higher Education; to basic training opportunities at work; to better skills and understanding for community action; to wider accreditation--credit where it is due....Open College achievements are trail-blazing: thousands of high achieving adults into higher education; women and black people given high priority; rigorous and responsive accreditation; credit accumulation and flexible credit-transfer arrangements; community-based learning programmes.[34]

It would be interesting to compare these recent initiatives in Britain, which are examined in Chapter 7, with the more established network of 1224 community colleges in the United States, but potentially at least, they provide the possibility of integration of vocational training and the previously negatively defined category of non-vocational adult education. One of the main emphases is on accreditation, but in general, the presence of Open Colleges raises fundamental and radical questions about access for "non-traditional" students (either for purposes of employment or for progress through education); as such, it should be important for unwaged people.

It remains to be seen, however, whether even innovatory developments in the UK do in practice move beyond the vertical individual progression model (training for employment or individual progress through education) on to the issue of collective organisation. Although it is inaccurate to imply a simple dichotomy between these models, there may be a danger that an over-emphasis on access and accreditation may, perhaps unintentionally, militate against the development of that minority historical strand of adult education which emphasises collective action, and is based on a concern for social justice and radical change. This tradition includes Highlander and the Labour Colleges in the USA, the Folk High School Movement in Scandinavia, Frontier College and the Antigonish Movement in Canada, Societa Umanitaria de Milan in Italy, and the Workers' Educational Association and the Labour College Movement in England.[35]

Reference was made earlier to the fact that there is no independent organisation of unemployed people in the 1980s as there was in the 1930s; but there are a number of embryonic developments through which unwaged people are raising critical issues. The question was raised about the extent to which adult educators should be supporting or helping to create such developments. One of the case studies examines educational support which is being provided for the network of TUC Unemployed Centres in Britain. This is issue- and problem-oriented, and not concerned with access or accreditation. An important question is the extent to which these differing emphases can or should be integrated. It can be argued that innovatory educational initiatives will only survive if they are seen as complementary to mainstream educational policies and practices. It has also been argued that an emphasis on access **within** institutional frameworks is not compatible with the development of close ties with social and political movements or critical issues (such as unemployment) in working class areas; and that initiatives therefore need to be taken **outside** institutions. "[A concentration] on access....with some notable exceptions, assists the process of individual growth and development, but does little for collective growth and development."[36]

Differing aims and objectives have been examined briefly in this chapter. In the first phase (1980-85), there was in general, a dichotomy between training/employability objectives and general adult education. In the second phase (1985 following), this may still be predominantly the case in practice, but at least critical questions have been raised about this dichotomy and the need for integration. Two recent examples of this at a broad European level are the Council of Europe Project 9 on "Adult Education and Community Development," one part of which was devoted to "Responses to Unemployment and the Consequences of Economic Restructuring" (1985/86), and a four-year European Bureau of Adult Education Project to be carried out between 1987-90 on "Education and Training of Adults in a Changing Employment Market."[37]

To a limited extent, these European projects provide an opportunity for adult educators and policymakers to explore recent initiatives, albeit usually it seems, without the involvement of unemployed people themselves. Perhaps this is another indication of the move towards working **for** the unemployed rather than **with** unemployed people, which was referred to earlier in a British context. The fact remains, however, that networks of professional workers and the dissemination of experiences have been increasing in this second phase (1985 ff.)

Just as attempts have been made at co-ordination of adult education projects, so there are attempts at co-ordination and dissemination of experiences from Local Employment initiatives (LEIs). In 1985, for example, the EEC established an information network in support of local employment initiatives (ELISE). By 1988, it is claimed that ELISE "has woven a web of networks in all EEC countries...through these networks, ELISE has attempted to set up 'antennas' in the various European regions...it directly transfers information on experiences from one town or region to another."[38]

Leaving aside questions about the effectiveness or otherwise of these emerging networks, there is no detailed evidence about co-ordination **across** adult education and local employment initiatives. There is then a need to integrate educational provision for adults with programmes of economic and social development. In Britain, certainly, and possibly in many other parts of Europe and North America, these different programmes and initiatives are organised, staffed, and financed separately. This separation has been exacerbated recently in some local authorities in Britain by institutional or departmental competition or hostility; local education authorities and Departments of Economic Development fail frequently to co-ordinate their different initiatives.

The growth of local networks which involve the significant participation of unwaged people (who often see the need for co-ordination between different activities and initiatives more clearly than professional staff) may be one way of encouraging co-ordination and collaboration of different initiatives at local levels. It is not clear, though (without further research), to what extent these networks are functioning.

The need for more discussion of policy issues and the outcomes arising from various programmes and initiatives was stressed at the beginning of this chapter. This policy discussion is taken up in many of the contributions to this book. Some general points need stressing in this context. The policy issues outlined in various chapters reflect what is already an overall tendency in Scandinavian countries and may become more prominent in other countries also.

The previous heavy focus on traditional topics of pedagogy and andragogy (the "curriculum," the educational environment, the conditions of the adult student, etc.) has given way, or at least broadened, into a focus on **policy-oriented** research.” The policy issue is that of education throughout life--publicly provided opportunities which enhance the possibilities for creative work and creative leisure--particularly for those people who have had less post compulsory education.

Publicly provided access and use of education is not fundamentally different from that of access to housing, health, income-maintenance, and work. Adult education and training--whether "lifelong" or limited--is an instrument of public policy. In this context, questions of who gains and who loses and what the varied outcomes (both intended and otherwise) of particular educational and training policies are, become questions of crucial significance.

Conclusion

Various important questions have been highlighted in this chapter as adult education and other responses to unemployment in the 1980s have been overviewed.

In the absence of a critical discussion about these issues, it is not possible to compare different experiences or initiatives in or across various countries. The experiences of individual local projects cannot be shared effectively nor can generalisations about initiatives with unwaged people be made unless the following questions/issues (which are all inter-related) are examined: context; theoretical issues (or underlying assumptions); aims and objectives; monitoring and evaluation; and outcomes (including policy issues).

> **1. Context** (where are we starting from?) What is the broad political and socio-economic context within which adult education responses to unemployment develop? It is important to examine both macro (eg., national) and also micro factors (eg., the extent to which there is local political sympathy for unwaged people; and the economic, political and educational climate locally which may inhibit or encourage certain initiatives).
>
> **2. Theoretical Issues** (or underlying assumptions). There will always be underlying assumptions (or, more rarely, explicit theoretical perspectives) as different initiatives or program-

mes get underway. It is important both to make these explicit and examine their implications; and also to distinguish between the possibly differing assumptions of different groups and individuals: eg., the funding agency, the formal institution or informal organisation developing an initiative, the workers on a particular project, and unwaged people themselves.

In the context of unemployment, there are some obvious assumptions and theoretical issues which need examining. For example, it could be argued that many of the initiatives in the first phase ("marginality to relative expansion") were predicated on the assumption of unemployment not necessarily being a long-term structural issue affecting all industrialised countries in the medium-term at least. What then are our (and others') socio-economic and political assumptions about unemployment and the implications about the future of "non-work"?

In the context of adult education and unemployment, what are our assumptions (or theoretical perspectives) about how adults learn and how groups learn? What are our views about pedagogy (the ability of a tutor to transmit knowledge meaningfully) and andragogy (the ability and desire of adults to learn) and ultimately, and how do these affect our practice?

3. Aims and Objectives (what are we trying to do and why?) A number of references have been made in this chapter to differing aims and objectives in work with unwaged people. For example, do we emphasise employability/training as a major objective (and hence the role of adult education as an important element of the

production side of the economy in training and skilling individuals for the labour market); or, do we emphasise the notion of individual growth and development (and therefore the role of adult education as a leisure service on the **consumption** side of the economy?)[40] In practice, individual growth and development may be the (perhaps implicit) objective underlying access and accreditation which also needs to address questions of institutional change. Alternatively, do we emphasise the importance of collective growth and development, and issue and problem-centred education focusing on critical political and organisational aspects of unemployment? If this is the case, we imply that adult education is concerned with social change and support for embryonic or existing social movements.

Or, are we attempting to integrate elements of all these--and other--objectives?

Finally, who determines the aims and objectives? As in 2) above, is it the funding agency, the workers, and/or unwaged people?

Without some clarity about these issues, it is not possible to have effective evaluation, and analyse outcomes Explicit statements about aims and objectives provide an essential baseline from which to judge the effectiveness of projects and initiatives.

4. Monitoring and Evaluation (how do we know what's happening and what the outcomes are?) Without discussing here a cluster of key questions (who does it, what kind of evaluation, who is it for, etc.), it is important to re-emphasise the fact that the lessons from many programmes and initiatives have been lost because of the absence of a monitoring and evaluation framework, and this relates to the macro research problem outlined earlier in this chapter.

5. Outcomes. It is important to examine each of the following: i) Programme/project outcomes: what are the varied (and perhaps unintended) outcomes of particular programmes--for unwaged people, for paid staff, and for organisations and institutions? ii) Practice/development outcomes: what is "generalisable" from particular projects for other adult educators? iii) Policy issues: what are the implications of particular programmes for education and training policies generally with unwaged people--and who follows up these implications and in what way?

As stated earlier, all of these questions are inter-related. Our theoretical perspectives (underlying assumptions) or those of our funding agency, for example, affect the (perhaps implicit) aims and objectives of particular initiatives. We do not know if we are achieving these objectives without an effective monitoring and evaluation framework, nor do we know what the outcomes are; without this information, we cannot affect future practice or policy.

This framework should help in assessing critically the information and the issues raised both in this chapter and particularly in the case-study chapters which follow.

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CHAPTER 3

Unemployment and Education:

Adjustment Strategies for Displaced Workers in the United States

By Jeanne Prial Gordus and Karen Yamakawa

In this chapter, the major issues to be explored include the pervasiveness of permanent job loss in the United States from 1979-84; what can be offered to individuals who experience permanent job loss to promote career continuation; what groups can offer such services and how; what we know about the effectiveness of such education and training programmes; and, finally, whether there appears to be any significant association between rapid re-employment and relatively decent post-programme wage rates, and the types of services offered and who offers them.

The specific issues to be explored in the following sections of this chapter are:

1) the extensiveness of permanent job loss in the United States during the years 1979-84 and what happened to those dislocated workers;
2) the most common programme ingredients which are available to be assembled into a comprehensive dislocated worker program;
3) the organisational sponsorship of dislocated worker programmes is the United States during the past decade;
4) a description of two experimental demonstration projects and their results;
5) a summary of research on other programmes –those with different types of sponsorship and different arrangement of programme ingredients;
6) a summary of what has been learned over the past decade and what recommendations that learning supports.

The first parts of this chapter not only identify the extensiveness of the problem of dislocation, but also describe the educational tools or programme ingredients which can be building blocks in programmes to assist dislocated workers in making career transitions. These programme ingredients are not new; they have been used in various combinations and at various levels of sophistication for many groups needing employment services. What is new–besides the extensiveness of worker dislocation–are the mechanisms through which service packages constructed from these programme ingredients have been delivered. The organisational sponsorships of the new dislocated worker programmes have interest from several points of view. For example, it is clear from data developed in publicly funded demonstration projects that adjustment and retraining can assist dislocated workers to become reemployed and adapted to new careers. However, it is also clear that public programmes cannot always recruit, retain, or place participants as well as programmes sponsored by joint union-management groups. It is for this reason that the background is so important. Only in the proper context is it possible to see how different the practices are in the new joint programmes, particularly the UAW-Ford programmes. And it is these practices, developed through joint union-management processes and supported by collectively-bargained funds, which have been important in the successes of these programmes. The concluding section of this chapter identifies these new practices and points out the lessons to be learned from these innovations in both American industrial relations and adult education.

Extensiveness and Consequences of Permanent Displacement

A major advance in dislocation research was made when the Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS) added 18 questions to its Current Population Survey (CPS) in January 1984. Not only was this the first representative sample of individuals displaced from the work force, but the criteria for identifying potentially displaced workers were explicit. Individuals responding "yes" to the question about job loss from 1979 to 1984 because of a plant closing, an employer going out of business, or a layoff after which the worker was not recalled were asked the additional questions.

Data from this survey were presented in 1985 and in 1987,[1] but recent analyses by Podgursky and Swaim[2] have added to our knowledge. In the period 1979-84, about 5.8 million blue-collar workers were displaced. At the time of the CPS survey, 60.7 percent were re-employed, 29.2 percent were unemployed, and 10.2 percent had left the labour force. About 3.8 million white-collar workers were displaced during the same period. Data drawn from the Podgursky and Swaim study for blue-collar workers and white-collar workers are shown in Table 1. These data indicate that not only are proportionately fewer white-collar and service workers displaced, but that their re-employment prospects in general appear to be better, an expected finding.

Table 1

Nonagricultural Workers Displaced from Full-Time Jobs
Between January 1979 and January 1984[a,b]

Labor Force	Blue-Collar			White-Collar and Service		
Total	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Total	5,777	4,438	1,339	3,769	1,909	1,860
% of Tot.	(100)	(100)	(100)	(100)	(100)	(100)
Employed	3,505	2,835	670	2,582	1,433	1,149
	(60.7)	(64.3)	(50.0)	(68.5)	(75.0)	(61.8)
Unemployed	1,685	1,319	366	735	386	349
	(29.2)	(29.7)	(27.4)	(19.5)	(20.2)	(18.8)
Not in L.F.	587	284	303	435	91	362
	(10.2)	(6.4)	(22.6)	(12.0)	(4.8)	(19.5)

a. Workers between the ages of 20 and 61 in January 1984. Totals also exclude a small number of workers previously employed as private household workers. Components may not sum to total due to rounding error.

b. Taken from Michael Podursky & Paul Swaim, "Duration of Joblessness Following Displacement," *Industrial Relations*, Vol. 26, No. 3, 1987, p. 222.

Table 2

Median Age, Re-employment Rate, and Median Ratio of Current to Adjusted Former Earnings by Weeks of Joblessness[a-d]

Weeks	Male				Female			
of Job-lessness	% of Sample	Age[b]	% Re-	Earn Ratio[c]	% of Sample	Age[b]	% Re-	Earn Ratio[c]
Blue								
0 wks.	9.5	31.8	89.1	.897	6.7	37.4	83.7	1.027
1-14	28.9	28.3	86.6	.924	19.9	31.6	79.2	.909
15-26	14.1	28.7	80.5	.815	14.1	26.9	75.9	.789
27-52	16.7	30.9	81.0	.785	21.2	32.2	71.0	.831
53-98	9.5	28.6	75.3	.614	4.7	36.5	61.4	.518
99-	21.4	31.9	32.0	.570	33.4	32.5	27.5	.666
Median	26.0	-	-	-	40.4	-	-	-
White								
0 wks.	18.0	34.1	93.7	1.057	12.6	32.1	81.0	.908
1-14	40.5	31.2	90.2	.991	34.5	27.8	82.1	.896
15-26	13.0	31.9	89.8	1.016	11.5	30.5	77.3	.797
27-52	14.8	31.3	88.7	.756	13.7	30.3	73.8	.720
53-98	3.7	37.9	79.7	.639	6.6	32.7	61.6	.540
99-	10.1	37.0	19.0	.493	21.0	36.2	30.0	.431
Median	10.4	-	-	-	19.6	-	-	-

a. Workers aged 20 to 61 formerly employed in full-time nonagricultural wage and salary jobs who were displaced due to a plant shutdown, business failure, or relocation; or those whose employers remained in operation but who were displaced due to slack or whose job was otherwise eliminated. Tabulations also exclude a small number of workers formerly employed as private household workers.

b. Median age at the time of displacement.

c. For workers employed in January 1984, ratio of usual weekly earnings on current job to usual weekly earnings on former job, adjusted for trend growth of hourly earnings between the year of displacement and January 1984, using the Employment Cost Index for wages and salaries.

d. Taken from Michael Podgursky & Paul Swaim, "Duration of Joblessness Following Displacement," *Industrial Relations*, Vol. 26, No. 3, 1987, p. 222.

In Table 2, several important distributions are shown for blue-collar workers and white-collar workers: age, duration of joblessness, and a ratio of current earnings to adjusted former earnings. The median weeks of unemployment for blue-collar workers, 26 weeks, is shown in contrast to 10.4 weeks for white-collar workers. This is in contrast to the sample of autoworkers in Michigan whose experience we studied. Their average duration of unemployment from 1979 through January 1984 was 73 weeks.[3]

Among the most important findings in the national research was the factor associated with both higher likelihood of re-employment and reduced earnings losses, and higher level of general education. Higher investment in specific training, such as on-the-job training, was not similarly protective of those displaced. Further, Podgursky and Swaim suggest that general education and remedial programmes should be targeted to groups with educational problems, to women and minorities. Finally it is suggested that prompt adjustment assistance may be important if, as is suggested by the data, protracted unemployment appears to be associated with even greater difficulty in re-entering the labour force.

Dislocated Worker Programme Ingredients

There is a common menu from which programme operators may make choices for a dislocated worker programme. The most common items on that menu are described briefly below:[4]

> **Orientation**. A brief session no more than 4-6 hours in which workers are informed of the opportunities available in a programme and where their questions about the programme can be answered. This event is usually the last step in an outreach programme which can be very extensive, depending upon circumstances.
>
> **Assessment**. A programme element which is designed to assess the skills, interests, and abilities of potential programme participants. Such assessments may include standard tests to ascertain actual, as distinguished from formal, educational level; tests include verbal and mathematical sections as well as skills sections. Aptitude and interest tests are common and may form part of a total assessment programme which is clearly labeled testing and assessment, or such tests can be included within individual or group career counseling.
>
> **Career Counseling**. This process which is designed to assist dislocated workers to make choices based upon both their individual characteristics and the condition of the local labour market, may be provided to participants singly, in groups, or in some combination of group

programmes with some individual counseling. The latter combination is most common is dislocated worker programmes.

Job Search Assistance. Generally job search assistance mean a group process in which participants engage in developing plans for jobs search, resumes, and interviewing practice. It is not uncommon to find group career counseling and job search assistance linked together in a 3-5 day programme.

Job Club. Originally designed for long-term unemployed. The concept, a 40 hour week dedicated exclusively to phone calling of potential employers, follow-ups to those calls, and interviewing of potential employers was considered to produce a maximum number of job offers over a specific time period and to imbue participants with good work-related behaviors such as arriving on time. For dislocated workers, such intensive searching may not be particularly helpful since people often become dislocated in slack labour markets. Because of the rejection which a slack labour market will produce for dislocated workers, and since they already have good work habits, the Job Club in this context often means a place where resumes can be reproduced, information acquired, and job search support groups can meet and exchange experiences and job leads. This adaptation of the Job Club is also called self-directed job search.

Placement Assistance/Job Development. In self-directed job search, dislocated workers identify job leads. Where there is placement

assistance through the work of a job developer,
job leads are provided to the dislocated workers.

The menu of services mentioned above are commonly provided in more or less intensive forms to most who enroll in dislocated worker programmes. They are designed to promote rapid re-employment and fit the needs of those workers with transferable skills who are job-ready. Since not all dislocated workers have the combination of experience and education which make them qualified applicants for available jobs, many dislocated worker programmes provide or have arrangements which provide referrals to another group of education and training programme elements.

Generally the programme ingredients described above are provided to most if not all dislocated workers enrolled in any programme. For dislocated workers who are job-ready, for example those with readily transferable skills, this level of service fulfills their needs; in fact most workers who were dislocated in the United States in the past decade or so were able to become re-employed without such assistance. However, such programme ingredients can, when workers enroll early in their unemployment spell, provide a number of benefits for the worker and society: it can shorten the duration of unemployment; this has the effect of saving unemployment compensation funds, and preventing workers from remaining jobless so long that they qualify for other public income maintenance. In addition, rapid re-employment prevents the onset of physical and mental health and other problems known to be associated with protracted unemployment. Further, the longer a worker is employed, the more likely that wages will rise. It is clear that the availability of the programme ingredients described above is important and highly beneficial to most adults forced to change career in mid-life.

Other unemployed workers have needs that are not so readily met and another set of programme ingredients are designed to assist those who are not job-ready or do not perceive that they are immediately job-ready. These programme elements can be broken down into three categories:

> **General Education** (CRT). This type of training assistance to dislocated workers can range from a relatively rapid (8-10 weeks) brush-up of communication and mathematics skills to much more intensive assistance which might address problems of limited literacy or even illiteracy. Sometimes, the loss of employment and the resulting job search underscores for individuals the disadvantage they suffer because of limited schooling. In response, individuals in this situation, with the help of employment and training agencies and local educational agencies will pursue high school study which can be validated by the award of the GED (General Equivalency Diploma). Non-natives may also encounter difficulties which can be minimized by ESL (English as a Second Language.)
>
> **Specific Vocational Training** (VT). This kind of assistance can also take a number of forms and be observed as a number of levels of intensity. Often, individuals who have had productive work careers in one occupation will find that, for the most part, many of their can be used in a new occupation but that acquaintance with the industry, the skills required, the tools and vocabulary of the new occupation is required. Such a need can be fulfilled with relatively short-term training of a few weeks to a few months and individuals may then be qualified for positions close to entry level in new occupations and new industries. At the other end of the spectrum, there are dislocated workers

whose career truncation leads them to serious consideration of a new occupation which requires specific vocational training of considerable length, perhaps as much as a year or two, most often ending with a license or the associate degree or perhaps both.

On-the-Job Training (OJT). Based upon the belief that people learn to do jobs best by doing them, and that employers actually provide a great deal of job training through both formal and informal means, the notion of subsidized training on the job has become important in employment and training for a number of groups. Generally, on-the-job training can be provided, depending upon the characteristics and experience of the dislocated worker who is job-ready, or after appropriate training to other dislocated workers. An on-the-job training contract between the operator of a dislocated worker program and a private employer generally means that the agency will pay up to 50 percent of the wages paid a new employee who was sent to the employer by the agency. The period of time for such a contract varies from about six weeks to six months and the expectation, contractually expressed in many cases, that an employer will retain the former OJT worker as part of the regular work force after the subsidy period is completed.

Sponsorship of Dislocated Worker Programmes

The major American employment and training response to unemployment in the 1970s was the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA). Programmes were funded under this legislation from the Federal Government to local-level agencies, at the city or county level. Major national organisations with community-based agencies also received funding. However, the major problem addressed by this legislation and the employment programmes was disadvantage, not dislocation. Moreover, these programmes were often perceived as client-centered, although steps were taken in the late 1970s to involve local employers.

In the early 1980s new legislation to replace CETA was developed, the Job Training Partnership Act (JTPA). Under this legislation, dislocated workers (who usually would not have been eligible for CETA services earlier) were the specific target of funds available under Title III of the new act. For example, whereas CETA was operated almost exclusively by public agencies or not-for-profit private agencies, JTPA, particularly Title III programmes, were available to a range of interested organizations. Consequently, former employers, unions, and educational institutions, as well as the local public and private agencies, offered services. The local public agencies and their activities were associated with the locally-based Private Industry Councils (PICs) which served as a kind of board of governors to local programmes, including the most prevalent type of local public agency, the Service Delivery Area (SDA). These organisational arrangements are important since they have different implications for recruiting participants, delivering programmes, and ultimately for the outcomes for dislocated workers.

Considerable thought was given to the design of programmes, and the following section describes the demonstration and implementation phases for American dislocated worker programmes. It is important to realize that several major policy issues were under discussion at this time. These include the issue of early notification. When workers could be notified up to six months before their termination, it was possible to begin to offer services before unemployment began, and this reduce or even eliminate the unemployment normally following dislocation. The idea of partnership, already explicitly spelled out in JTPA, took on added meaning as a whole range of joint union-management sponsored programmes began. Ranging from programmes for a small plant where there had never been jointly undertaken activities to programmes developed by a partnership of a major union and large corporation which had already had some experience in various types of jointly sponsored activities, these partnerships have become a unique and important feature of the dislocated worker programmes of the 1980s. The specific features of these programmes and the associated outcomes will be the focus of the last section of this chapter.

Labour Market Adjustment Programmes: Demonstration Phase

The development of programme services under Title III of JTPA was not undertaken in a vacuum. An important demonstration project was developed, implemented, and evaluated by the U.S. Department of Labor. The choice of site was significant, a series of plant closings in durable goods manufacturing in Michigan, in a heavily industrial and blue-collar area in the "Downriver" area adjacent to Detroit, Michigan.

A string of blue-collar communities had formed a consortium for a number of services, including economic development and employment and training. It was here that the Economic Readjustment Program, often called the Downriver project, was begun in 1980 to address the needs of workers from plant closings at the

Dana Corporation and the BASF Corporation. In short order, other closing-impacted workers became eligible for entry, including laid-off employees from Ford Motor Company's casting facility for the Rouge complex, the Michigan Casting Plant in Flat Rock, Michigan.

The evaluation design permitted by the reality of the situation, the use of a non-equivalent control group, was not the optimal design by any means. However problematic the results of the evaluation, due to the problems associated with a lack of equivalence of the control group together with a significant exogenous variable, a dramatically increasing local unemployment rate, it must be emphasised that both the programme and its evaluation surpassed in quality any previous work in the area.[5]

The Downriver project served approximately 2,100 workers laid-off from firms supplying the auto industry. In its first phase, the programme had a large and significant impact on the rates of re-employment of one group of participants, increasing the probability of re-employment by 20 percent. Weekly earnings of participants were also increased by an average of $77/week over nonparticipants. The second set of participants from another facility in the first phase experienced similar positive outcomes, as re-employment rates were increased by 13 percent and the average earnings increase over nonparticipants held constant at $77/week. In the second phase, however, the programme outcomes were much less positive. Indeed, the programme decreased re-employment rates and had no effect on earnings. While increase of the local unemployment rate from 12 percent to 20 percent between the implementation of the first and second phases of the programme was a factor in this decreasing effectiveness, other explanations are possible as well.

Table 3

Re-employment Rates of Participants
By Type of Programme Service[d]

Programme Service	Actual Re-employment Rate	Marginal Effect of Training on Re-employment Rates:	
		Unadjusted[a]	Adjusted[b]
Job Search and Placement Assistance Only	67.1	-	-
Any Training Programme	73.9	9.0	4.3
High-Technology Class-Size Programmes	50.0	-17.1	-18.9
Other Class-Size Programmes	80.0	12.9	11.0
Existing Programmes Offered through Local Educational Institutions	73.9	6.8	7.2
On-the-Job Training[c]	81.3	26.7	1.9

a. This is the difference between training and job-search-only employment rates.

b. A probit model of employment with variables indicating the type of service received was estimated for participants only. Re-employment rates by service were predicted, using the average characteristics of participants.

c. On-the-job training recipients are re-employed if they held a job after exit from the programme.

d. Taken from Jane D. Kulik, Alton Smith, & Ernst W. Stromsdorfer, *The Downriver Community Conference Economic Readjustment Program*, 1984.

Unmeasured differences among the participants and the comparison group could have had a significant but unknown influence as well. In Table 3, reproduced from the Abt Associates report, the outcomes are presented clearly. Some classroom training, notably the carefully designed high-technology training, actually functioned to retard employment. Since a careful and rigorous assessment procedure, an employment and training version of triage, was used at Downriver, participants selected by programme staff to participate in this training were deemed most likely to benefit from it. Their personal characteristics would have made them excellent labour market prospects, perhaps surpassing their former co-workers.

It is possible that those same co-workers, entering the labour market very soon after, when it was more hospitable and protected from some competition in the persons of their former co-workers who were kept busy in the classrooms, were the real beneficiaries of that retraining effort. As the results displayed in Table 3 show, the verdict was that the positive impacts of the Downriver Program were associated with good job search training rather than with vocational training. Perhaps even more important, job search training is less costly ($628/participant) than skills training ($1,700/participant).

Table 4

Programme Outcomes[c]

Outcome List:

1. Participants
2. Placements
3. Recalls
4. Other Terminations
5. Transferred to Other Programmes after September 30
6. Planned to Enter Employment
7. Percent of Plan Achieved
8. Placement Rate (2+2+4)
9. Entered Employment Rate (2+3+2+3+4)
10. Adjusted Placement Rate (2+2+4-5)
11. Adjusted Entered Employment Rate (2+3+2+3+4-5)

For Employed Enrollees:

12. Average Wage upon Entering Employment
13. Average Wage at Layoff
14. Average Wage
15. Mean Weeks from Layoff to Employment

Percent Entering Employment of Those Receiving:

16. Job Search Only
17. Classroom Training
18. OJT

Outcomes by Programme[ab]

Out-comes	Alameda	Buffalo	Lehigh Valley	Milwaukee	Mid-Willamette Valley	Yakima	Total
1.	3,231	798	1,028	2,713	305	243	8,318
2.	569	523	412	151	185	195	2,035

Out-comes	Ala-meda	Buffalo	Lehigh Valley	Mil-waukee	Mid-Willa-mette Valley	Yakima	Total
3.	620	27	26	0	0	0	673
4.	2,042	248	590	2,562	120	48	5,610
5.	1,684	0	200	0	3	8	1,895
6.	n/a	500	450	400	202	173	1,735
7.	n/a	110%	97.3%	37.8%	91.6%	107%	87.6%
8.	21.8%	67.8%	41.1%	5.6%	60.7%	80.2%	46.2%
9.	36.82%	68.9%	42.6%	5.6%	60.7%	80.2%	49.1%
10.	61.4%	67.8%	51.4%	5.6%	61.3%	83.0%	55.1%
11.	76.9%	68.9%	52.9%	5.6%	61.3%	83.0%	58.1%
12.	$7.19	$6.87	$6.83	$6.59	$7.32	$8.11	$7.15
13.	$11.50	$10.80	$9.49	$8.80	$10.38	$9.98	$10.16
14.	37.5%	36.4%	28.0%	25.1%	29.5%	18.7%	29.2%
15.	74.5	67.4	52.1	n/a	50.1	n/a	n/a
16.	36.3%	63.2%	40.6%	4.2%	69.5%	87.8%	50.3%
17.	42.0%	60.7%	43.6%	n/a	43.8%	40.0%	46.0%
18.	n/a	83.8%	50.0%	n/a	n/a	90.0%	74.8%

a. Figures are not available to support a full breakdown of participants in job-search-only, classroom training, and OJT in Alameda County. The figures shown here are for participants in ACTEB-funded training and for all other participants.

b. "Total" rates shown here are simple averages of available project rates, and do not distinguish the different sizes of projects.

c. Taken from Jane Kulik & Linda Sharpe, *The Worker Adjustment Demonstration Projects: A Comparative Evaluation Report*, 1985, and Jane Kulik & Howard S. Bloom, *The Worker Adjustment Demonstration Evaluation: Preliminary Impact Findings*, 1986.

As progress in the Downriver project was being shown in the early preliminary evaluations, the Department of Labor embarked on a second demonstration round, designed to assess whether a model program could be replicated.[6] The programme outcomes from the six sites are shown in Table 4. Outcomes varied widely, with placement ranging from 9 percent to 81 percent of the unrolls. Emphasis was again placed upon job search programming costs, ranging from $400-$1,000/participant compared with the $800/$3,500 for skills training.

Labour Market Adjustment Programmes: Implementation Phase

A large-scale review of JTPA Title III programmes for dislocated workers was performed by the U.S. General Accounting Office.[7] Table 5 shows the demographic characteristics of all dislocated workers as revealed by the January 1984 Current Population Survey study of dislocated workers compared with the characteristics of those participating in the responding 600+ JTPA programmes in operation between July 1984 and June 1986. This selection bias is an expected phenomenon; nevertheless it is disturbing, since, clearly, the needs of those not participating are serious, as noted by Podgursky and Swaim.

Even more revealing are the data shown in Table 6, which shows programme elements selected by or for participants in Title III programmes. The focus is firmly on placement and the average duration of time spent in classroom skills training, nine weeks, is in sharp contrast to the Downriver project's education durations. These ranged from 28-29 weeks in customized classroom training and existing classroom training in local educational institutions, to 47.8 weeks for the participants who took high-technology vocational training, such as electronics technicians and numerical control operator training.

Table 5

Comparison of Dislocated Worker Characteristics[c]

	Title III Participants	Unemployed dislocated Workers as of 1/1984[a]
Age:		
Under age 55	92%	80%
Age 55 and over	8%	20%
Education:		
Less than high school	22%	32%
High school or more	78%	68%
Gender:		
Males	60%	69%
Females	40%	31%
Race:[b]		
White	69%	79%
Minorities	31%	21%

a. From the supplement to the January 1984 CPS.

b. Hispanics are included as minorities in Title III statistics, but in the CPS data they may be included in the totals for either race.

c. Taken from U. S. General Accounting Office, *Dislocated Workers: Local Programs and Outcomes Under the Job Training Partnership Act*, GAO/HRD 87-41, March 1987.

Table 6

Title III Activities[a]

Activity	Description	Median Length	Percent of Projects Offering	Percent of Participants Receiving
Training:				
Remedial	Basic skills	2 weeks	30	6
Classroom	New job skills	9 weeks	77	26
OJT	New job skills in work envir.	15 weeks	69	16
Placement Assistance:	Orientation, Assessment, and Identification of Employment Options	Ongoing	84	84
Job Search	Enhance Job Search Skills or Referral	No fixed Time[b]	84	66
Support Services	Assist Those Enrolled in Title III	No fixed Time[b]	67	23

a. Taken from U. S. General Accounting Office, *Dislocated Workers: Local Programs and Outcomes Under the Job Training Partnership Act*, GEO/HRD 87-41, March 1987.

b. No fixed time frame - 44%; 2 weeks or more - 35%; less than 2 weeks - 21%.

Table 7

Job Placement Rates and Wage Levels by Project Characteristic[a]

	Average Placement Rate	Average Wage Level
All Projects	69%	$6.61
Project Operator:		
Employer/Union	71%	$7.62
Public	69%	$5.93
SDA-PIC	66%	$6.70
Educational Institution	70%	$5.88
Focused on Specific Population or Event:		
Yes	65%	$7.03
No	69%	$5.91
Job Linkage:		
Yes	78%	$5.44
No	68%	$6.24
Classroom Training:		
High Emphasis	66%	$6.66
Medium Emphasis	70%	$6.02
Low Emphasis	71%	$6.17
OJT:		
High Emphasis	78%	$5.69
Medium Emphasis	74%	$5.80
Low Emphasis	66%	$6.52

a. Taken from U. S. General Accounting Office, *Dislocated Workers: Local Programs and Outcomes Under the Job Training Partnership Act*, GAO/HRD 87-41, March 1987.

Some programme outcomes tabulated to show programme sponsors versus the post-programme wage rates of employed participants in these 600 JTPA programmes are shown in Table 7. Unfortunately, data about earnings levels of programme participants are not available so that comparisons can be made with data from the Current Population Survey, nor are data available from comparison groups.

The most rigorous evaluation of employment and training initiatives for dislocated workers was recently undertaken by Abt Associates in association with the Texas Department of Community Affairs, as an assessment of the extent to which programme services impacted the re-employment rate and post-programme wage rates of participants versus nonparticipants. Since two other studies, one in Delaware and another focusing on 15 Title III projects, had identified job placement services as the most effective interventions, compared with other longer-term interventions such as skills training, the Texas evaluation was designed to provide better evidence than had been available previously.[8] The core of this evaluation was the random assignment of 2,250 displaced workers in three sites in two cities to one of three options:

> a) job placement services (Tier I);
> b) job search assistance plus referral to classroom or other training (Tier I/II);
> c) control group status in which those not eligible for Title III services were followed, and their UI utilization, re-employment rates, and wage rates were computed.

Among the interesting aspects of this evaluation was some analysis of outcomes for early dropouts from the programmes. Early dropouts appear to have faced the best labour market prospects and to have fared very well, compared with nonparticipants and participants. This finding, which is consistent with some recent unpublished findings,[9] may help to explain some of the apparent high success rates in plant closing programmes where there have been early interventions. Individuals enrolled, sometimes even before layoff, who find jobs rapidly on their own or with minimal assistance, are perhaps counted among early-intervention plant closing "positive terminations." The early programme dropout may, in programmes which appear on the scene less promptly, be lost to the programme success count.

The major results of this evaluation vary by site, by target group, and by the specific measure used. However, in general, the Texas experiment appears to have obtained results similar to the Downriver project evaluation:

> * The overall programme had a positive short-run impact on earning, employment, and reduction of dependence on UI benefits. The programme's chief effect was to have hastened re-employment, but over time, other effects in terms of earnings were not significant.
> * Women appeared to have experienced a more pronounced and significant impact from programme experience.
> * It appears that the added job-training component had no impact beyond that found for the first programme component, job search assistance.

The discussion of the findings identifies several factors which might help to explain why skills training was found to have no positive impact. Mismatches between needs of participants and available training, mismatches between available training and the needs of the labour market, and possible questions about how appropriate training might be for some target populations are all explored. Questions are also raised about the capacity of local institutions to be sufficiently flexible to provide skills training in unusual time spans and formats.

Table 8

Weekly Wage Rates Before and After Random Assignment[c]

Group	Mean Weekly Wage Rate for Employed Programme Eligibles			
	Men		Women	
	On Layoff Job	During Survey Week	On Layoff Job	During Survey Week
TEC Tier I	590[a]	510	370	350[b]
TEC Tier I/II	540	480	390[a]	310[a]
TEC Control	500	510	360	270
SEE Tier I/II	220	210	190	180
SEE Control	230	220	180	160
SER Tier I/II	230	200	180	150
SER Control	230	210	170	150

a. and b. Indicates a significant **increase** from the control group at the 0.05 and 0.025 levels, respectively, for a one-tail hypothesis test.

c. Reproduced from Bloom and Kulik, 1986.

The outcomes for women in this programme were particularly striking, since the total programme-induced earnings gains the first year after assignment were $890 per participant. Participation was also shown to have increased the likelihood of re-employment by 23 percentage points. The outcomes for men were less clear, since earnings gains for participants versus control group members were experienced only in the second quarter after participation. It is true that their average programme-induced earnings gain was $790 per participant, but, due to the large variance in outcomes, this was not statistically significant.

Programme participation was found to be positive and cost-effective, but it is job search assistance which is the consistently cost-effective programme component. In Table 8, drawn from the Bloom and Kulik study, the earnings experience as found through the project's follow-up survey is reported. Each of the three major groupings, TEC, SEE, and SER refer to the acronyms by which programs in Houston and El Paso were known. SEE and SER were in El Paso. The second major grouping represented treatment insensitivity; Tier I refers to job search/placement assistance only; Tier I/II refers to job search/placement assistance and vocational/skills/and on-the-job training. Control refers to no treatment.

Joint Union-Management Programmes

While it is clear that heavy levels of involvement of unions, companies, and combinations of these partners have characterized a number of responses to plant closings in several industries and companies, few if any of these programmes have been as extensive as those in the automobile industry. For a review of programmes undertaken under company, union, joint union-management, as well as public and private agencies, the case studies presented by a number of authors in a recent book edited by Robert Cook' provide an excellent overview. One of these case studies reviews a joint union-management programme for autoworkers sponsored by the UAW (United Automobile Workers) and GM (General Motors Corporation). What appears to have been a model programme was in its early phases when, contrary to the expectations of the union, company, and the joint programme, new production began in the area and 93 percent of the programme participants were quickly re-employed, but by their original employer. The collective bargaining agreements in the U.S. auto industry provide that those laid-off who have highest seniority (the earliest date of hire) will have the first opportunity to return to their employer. This contract provision, recall, complicates the delivery of services to autoworkers and others whose collective bargaining agreements have similar provisions, since many of these workers will delay involvement in adjustment programmes. They anticipate that they are simply having one more long layoff in their work histories, which have, due to the cyclical nature of the industries involved, featured long layoffs in the past.

By 1982, it had become clear to the auto employers, particularly Ford and GM and their union, the UAW, that the recession was different; it was not to be followed by a return to normal market share, so it could not be followed by a recall of virtually all laid-off workers. In the early bargaining of 1982, provisions were made to fund retraining and adjustment assistance for laid-off workers and for active workers. However, priority was given to the needs of the laid-off workers, some of whom had been jobless since 1979 and 1980.[10]

The UAW-Ford Programmes

Not only did the UAW and Ford jointly begin their programmes as early as possible after the 1982 contract had been ratified, but a good deal of evaluation and research on these programmes was not only permitted but encouraged.

Two types of evaluation in these efforts can be distinguished. The more formal, statistical analyses of two programs--one at the San Jose plant closing[11] and another in Southeastern Michigan where most of the unemployment resulted not from plant closings but from massive layoffs (which tends to keep hopes of recalls higher than the dramatic event of a plant closing distant from other facilities of the company)--show mixed and different results. In the San Jose situation, programmes began well before the plant closed and the vast majority of autoworkers in that plant, 87.5 percent, participated in some element of the programme. Indeed, many were re-employed without a break after the closing, and some received job offers before the closing. Hansen's evaluation indicates the possibility of an association between the time-investment or intensity of training and the degree to which those workers replaced their former high wage rates. On closer examination, two factors show up. First, such a high level of participation involves a process where nearly everyone, including those who could easily regain employment without assistance or with minimal assistance, enroll in programmes. Such programme outcomes always appear very good, due in no small part to the characteristics of the workers in them. Second, careful assessment calls into question the association between intense levels of programme participation and high wages. This review of the results is more reasonable, since those who participate most, particularly in Basic Skills Programs, probably need more assistance and will also probably enter the labour market at a later date and with less to offer overall than their former co-workers who were job-ready at the point of termination.

A very different situation occurred in Southeastern Michigan, where workers had been laid-off for many months before any programmes became available. Therefore, those who had marketable skills[12] had often found re-employment and had made a successful transition without assistance. Programmes set up after those with transferable skills had been re-employed were widely publicised, and even after so long a period, drew many workers who had tried the local labour market and found it was not in need of their skills. In this case, those who did not participate in programmes were unambiguously identified as those who were doing best in terms of wages in their new occupations compared with their co-workers who had enrolled in the joint UAW-Ford programmes. This seemingly negative outcome for participants needs to be regarded in terms of selection, just as the San Jose programme does. In Michigan, those who participated were those who had experienced long hardships and who perceived themselves as having needs for training before they could re-establish careers. What is not known is what would have happened to these more needy individuals had such programme opportunities not been available to them.

Unfortunately, it has not been possible to develop comparison groups, let alone control groups, to assess the outcomes of these joint programmes. It is, however, possible to compare these programmes with others in terms of process, a type of evaluation often neglected.

Hansen's descriptions and our own daily observations of programme delivery, when compared with other types of programmes, particularly those common in public agencies, reveal some very sharp contrasts.

First, the efforts at recruitment are both more intensive and extensive in the UAW-Ford project, and presumably in other such joint union-management programmes. The company has information about laid-off workers which is not always shared with public providers, which enables the company to reach workers. The union has other channels of communication; moreover union members can talk to union members in a more meaningful way about programmes and what they can do than can people who are unknown.

Second, these ties become particularly important during the retraining process, whether it involves relatively short-term vocational readjustment or long-term skills retraining or educational participation. The utilisation within the programme staff of former co-workers provides participants with an advocate, an ally, and an individual who can demonstrate that programme participation can be helpful and that a participant can be successful. It also engenders built-in familiarity in at least part of a programme. This is important since many autoworkers, at that time, had not been exposed to much formal training, since commonly they had left school, and both the prospect and reality of schooling was often foreign and threatening.

Third, because the major funding for these programmes comes from a jointly-administered fund (often called the nickel fund, since at first $.05 per hour for every hour worked by every hourly worker was earmarked for dislocated worker programmes), both the union and the company monitor the services purchased very carefully. Some public funds were subsequently acquired and are often used for programme ingredients such as on-the-job training. Both the union and the company keep close watch on the quality and quantity of services purchased with these funds. Further, while the company focuses on one "bottom line"–getting value for money–union officials focus carefully on how well training and services are tailored to the former workers. Daily debriefings to let service providers who have had little experience with autoworkers know whether they are reaching their audience and achieving their training objectives are common. Ongoing monitoring occurs at special centers set up to serve dislocated workers, called Reemployment Assistance Centers. In fact, portions of the programmes, such as assistance with job search skills training, and job development and job search, are often delivered by teams of professional and peer trainers. Such a process helps to make the programme excellent by professional standards, but also insures its relevance to its audience. Although the data are far from complete, it is noteworthy that union-company programmes reviewed for the U.S. Government by the General Accounting Office, as shown in Table 7 above, reveal that both placement rates and wage rates are higher for union-management programmes than for those sponsored by any other groups.

Summary and Conclusions

The recession of the late 1970s and early 1980s caught American industry, labour, and government by surprise and unprepared to deal with large-scale dislocation. Few programme examples were available from which to learn, and most of them came from a period when the overall unemployment rate was much lower than during the recession.[13] The response of local agencies, schools, and colleges was helpful in some instances. The examples of special plant closing programmes also gave reason to hope that readjustment for dislocated workers could be achieved; the data from earlier periods had indicated that many laid-off workers would have very serious problems, and might not even return to the labour force.

The most striking response to this dislocation was made in the automobile industry, followed by the communications industry. In contrast to the "joint" programmes of the 1960s, where unions, management, and government worked to help laid-off workers, particularly from the meat-packing industry,[14] the new joint programmes which have emerged are "owned" by the union and the company. Indeed, they are only one part of a large array of training, education, health and safety, and employee assistance programmes which are now undertaken jointly.

The UAW-Ford programmes, despite the fact that, in the absence of a control group to whom programmes were not provided, they cannot be statistically evaluated in an experimental way in order to assess their real impact, provide important lessons to be learned. The careful monitoring, the inclusion of peers working in programmes, and the inevitable pride engendered by the joint "ownership" of such programmes, together with all the benefits provided by professional education and training, has set a standard to which programmes for those dislocated in the future must aspire.

In the first section of this chapter, reference was made to the millions of Americans who lost their jobs to closings, loss of business, or massive layoffs between 1979 and 1984. Data obtained in 1986 indicates that despite an economic recovery, the American labour market continues to lose jobs as the economy restructures. And, as technology changes the workplace, still more jobs will be lost. The lessons learned from joint union-management programmes, when they are well-implemented, will need to be applied over and over again as this restructuring continues.

This chapter, and the literature and research upon which it is based, does not support the contention that retraining during unemployment is the sovereign remedy for structural unemployment. With the exception of the Hansen study, there is little evidence that rapid re-employment or higher wage rates are associated with short- or long-term skills training. What is equally clear is that those displaced during the period 1979-84 in the United States who had high levels of educational attainment when they lost employment were re-employed much more rapidly that those without such education. Theoretically, it is possible that blue-collar dislocated workers could undertake the long arduous task of acquiring that same level of education as their white-collar counterparts. In practical terms, dislocated workers seldom have the resources to pay for such training and to survive financially during unemployment. To expect that such workers could do so during the usual 26 weeks which they can receive unemployment insurance payments is unrealistic. Even those with more income-maintenance, such as autoworkers and steelworkers, often do not have the minimum period of time–two years–to acquire the Associate Degree. Short-term training can usually qualify graduates for entry-level jobs at much lower wages, and often workers would prefer to take their chances searching for new jobs where their old skills would be valued than to make a dramatic change in occupations.

What is the answer for those members of the work force whose jobs may be in jeopardy in the continuing restructuring of the economy? Once again, the exemplary approach can be seen in the provisions of collective bargaining agreements, first in the auto industry, and now spreading to telecommunications, steel, and a number of other private and public employers. New and important opportunities are being provided to some fortunate American workers for continuation of their education, beginning at whatever stage each worker's needs suggest. Tuition programmes which provide for college for those prepared for that educational experience are just one of a number of carefully designed educational opportunities, from basic literacy through high school completion. There is now some preliminary data suggesting that these opportunities are being used to advantage.[15] The development of these joint union-management programmes which aim to raise the educational and personal development levels of workers, and are specifically dissociated from company-provided technical training needed on the job, are perhaps the most important outcome of the experience unions and companies gained as they attempted to assist dislocated workers.

This review of research, programmes, and the literature reveals that it is often too late to begin the education dislocated workers need after their jobs have disappeared–and even some months before that. Rather, the appropriate strategy, which appears to be in its first stages in many unions and companies in the United States, is to make continuing education part of the landscape in the workplace so that the protracted unemployment so often associated with job loss for those with little education–seen so clearly during the late 1970s and early 1980s–can be avoided for those in the future who face a changing labour market. It is clearly education which can make that crucial difference, not only if workers lose their jobs, but even more as their jobs become more complex and require the skills and flexibility that education can provide.

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CHAPTER 4

Dislocated Workers in Transition:

Overcoming Resistance to Retraining and Continuing Education

By Lee Shore and Jerry Atkin

During the 1980s the nature of industrial production in the United States changed due to the application of new technologies and the parallel economic restructuring that has occurred in the advanced industrial countries.[1] The service and information sectors of the economy have grown while the industrial sector has declined. The combination of these factors has meant that dislocated industrial workers must be retrained or find themselves competing for a diminishing number of blue-collar jobs. While workers of all ages are affected by these developments, the impact is greatest on older workers and those workers who have very limited literacy skills. Both of these groups will require special attention to help them make the transition from dislocation to a new job or career.

Many workers who assumed that they would work in the same job, using the same skills, until they retired, are now facing an entirely different job market than the one that prevailed when they entered the factories 10 or 15 years earlier. Experts in the area of job development suggest that people who are currently being displaced will work in three to six different jobs before they reach retirement age. Two of the prime characteristics of the successful worker in this coming era will be the ability to learn new job skills and to adapt to new circumstances. To prepare for this new world of employment, many workers will need to learn new skills, both in retraining programmes and in seeking further education. They will need to learn how to seek jobs in a highly competitive job market, and they will need to learn to develop long and short term work plans.

For many workers, preparing for a new job or career means adapting to a new, strange, and even frightening environment--the classroom. Many industrial workers have not had positive classroom experiences, and their previous experiences are one of the obstacles that must be overcome. Given this new reality, it is critical that adult education and retraining programmes be designed that are easily accessible to workers, both physically and psychologically.

The Center for Working Life has been providing mental health and support services to federally-funded retraining and outplacement services for dislocated workers in northern California for the past five years, and has provided consultation and training services to joint UAW/GM and UAW/Chrysler projects throughout the industrialised midwest.[2] One of the common threads that has run through all of these programmes has been the resistance of dislocated workers to retraining and continuing education programmes. While the issues raised in this chapter are generally appropriate to any adult education setting, the focus here is on the resistance of dislocated workers to using available retraining and educational opportunities.

This resistance has its roots in the emotional and psychological impact of going through a mass layoff or plant closure situation. The experience of these workers is an experience of loss. In addition to the obvious economic losses, workers may lose their sense of being productive members of the society, a sense of identity and their role in the family.[3] They may also lose the structure of their daily life and access to their work family that has been a primary source of support during all the years in the plant. The impact of these losses is intensified by the uncertainty about the future due to external circumstances over which the workers believe they have no control.

A typical psychological response to this situation is characterised by denial, anger which cannot be expressed directly, self-blame, a diminished sense of self-worth, and a potentially paralysing sense of powerlessness. These psychological issues then become obstacles that prevent workers from effectively using the services that are available to them. To overcome these obstacles requires a combination of education, counselling, and social support to empower workers to move forward in the restructuring of their lives.

This chapter will examine the psychological obstacles that interfere with the ability of workers to effectively use the educational opportunities available to them. It will also examine some of the ways that can be used to overcome these obstacles. Examples will be drawn from model programmes that have been developed in the United States, primarily in California and with auto workers in the Midwest. The conclusion will examine some of the general principles involved and some of the policy issues that need to be addressed.

Psychological Obstacles to the Use of Retraining and Continuing Education

The primary psychological obstacles that dislocated workers must overcome to be able to use retraining and educational services effectively include: denial, anger, self-blame, diminished sense of self-worth, and stress. Literacy, while not a psychological obstacle in and of itself, is one of the areas where many of these psychological obstacles are focused. A brief discussion of these topics will appear in this section.

Denial: The psychological process of denial often has its roots in situations where there have been rumours of a plant closure or large scale layoff continuing over months and sometimes years. These rumours may have kept people in a state of anxiety, but when layoffs have not occurred, people have developed a sense that something will always happen, up to the last moment, to reverse the decision and keep them on the job. Even after the layoff, people want to believe that they will be called back, regardless of the objective truth of the situation. In the case of some of the Detroit auto plants, former Chrysler workers are still expecting to be recalled even after five years and a complete restructuring of the industry to make it less labour-intensive. Even if the plant were to re-open, the kinds of jobs would, in reality, no longer be the same.

When people are faced with a situation that feels overwhelming to them, in this case a plant closure, one of the psychological defenses against this sense of being overwhelmed is to deny the reality of the situation. As long as people refuse to come to grips with the reality they face, they will not be able to mobilise their energies to fully use available services. They may go through the motions, but they will resist at some level. Psychologically, to fully invest themselves in a retraining or continuing education project will, in effect, be admitting the reality that they are trying to deny. What makes the acceptance of this reality psychologically more difficult is that to pursue retraining or continuing education may involve a shift of identity, and this is much more complex than simply learning a new set of skills.

Dealing with denial must be addressed directly in individual and group settings to remove this obstacle. This is not accomplished by simply stating what is true. People must have their feelings acknowledged as real and appropriate, and then must be supported in understanding how they can move forward. In this effort it is critical to break down the sense that they are the only people experiencing this anxiety and to show that this is a normal response to an authentic crisis situation.

Anger: Another obstacle that makes it difficult for workers to use services is the unexpressed anger that they often feel. They may feel angry about being abandoned and discarded after working for much of their lives in the plant. They may also legitimately feel anger towards the company and the economic system that has resulted in their dislocation. However, it is difficult to fully express that deeply felt anger toward an abstract entity like the company or the state. That unexpressed anger may instead be turned against people in the immediate environment --toward family, friends, and towards self. It may also be directed towards the union or towards people who are trying to provide services.

To defuse the potential danger of the unexpressed anger, an appropriate place for expressing that anger, and having it validated, must be created. That can be done in individual settings or in group settings, such as unemployed support groups or job clubs. It is ineffective, and potentially destructive, to tell people that they shouldn't be angry, because it won't help them find another job or learn another skill. The truth is that they are angry, and have a right to be. Validating and normalising this anger allows people to free themselves of its more destructive elements. When people hear someone say that it is perfectly normal to feel angry about being turned out of a job they have faithfully performed for years, it is a great relief. It helps clarify what they are feeling and why they are feeling it. This allows them to move through the anger to act effectively in their own interest.

Self-blame: Another psychological reaction, intensified if legitimate anger has no healthy way of being expressed, is to internalise the experience of dislocation as a personal failure. Self-blame is a common element in the experience of traumatic job loss. These feelings are reinforced by the prevailing social definition of success and the general devaluing by the larger society of industrial work and workers. Many people who are dislocated blame themselves for the closure of the plant and their current predicament. In many cases this is expressed as a belief that they are "too dumb" to learn new skills and that there isn't any point in trying because they will only fail. Even though workers may identify the company or the economic system as being responsible for the closure of their plant, there is also a tendency to blame themselves for the situation they now face. This may take the form of feeling that they, as workers, had become too strong and too well paid, and that was the cause of the layoff or closure. Workers may also express their belief that a closure was the fault of the workers because they had been absent too much, or hadn't been productive enough on the job. They may also blame themselves for staying in the job, and not getting further education or developing other skills.

Self-blame is a learned response that develops in a competitive society that consistently reinforces the message that if you work hard enough, you will be rewarded. In the United States, for example, the responsibility for what happens to the individual in the society is placed on the individual. If you succeed, the credit accrues to you; if you fail, you are to blame. The corollary of that tenet is that you ultimately get what you deserve. If you get very little, it is because you deserve very little. This is internalised by workers as self-blame and powerlessness.[4] This psychological construct is often expressed directly by workers, but it may also co-exist with the most articulate statements to the contrary. Teachers and service providers must learn to read between the lines of what is being said and be sensitive to the often subtle clues that indicate potential psychological obstacles.

Eliminating this sense of shame and self-blame that many workers feel is an important key to developing successful educational programmes. It is important to help workers understand that their fears and anxieties are normal. It is very relieving to realise that other people are feeling many of the same things, and that those feelings are an appropriate, if not final, response to a difficult situation. To achieve the maximum results, any educational programme for dislocated workers must help them reclaim their sense of dignity and pride as workers, assure them of their right to these services and address their fear of failure.

Diminished Sense of Self-Worth: In listing some of the potential losses that accompany a plant closure or mass layoff, we have identified that these losses include the sense of being a productive member of society, the loss of a sense of identity, and the loss of the role in the family. All of these things affect the individual's sense of self-worth. Faced with this diminished sense of self, it is not surprising that workers find the prospect of going into a classroom situation, which may have been the scene of early painful and humiliating experiences, terrifying. This is an important point. In a class-based society, very few working class students find personal or class reinforcement in the schools. Now, at a time where their self-worth is in serious question, they are being asked to return to an environment where they may have received some of the earliest social messages that undermined their sense of self-worth. This is asking no small thing.

To help workers deal with this situation, it is again necessary to validate the feelings of fear that people have and to give them the reassurance that they will get the support they need to go back into a classroom setting and succeed. Creating learning experiences where workers can be successful is pivotal. Putting people in situations where there is a high likelihood that they will fail can permanently affect whether they will be able to obtain the training and education that they need.

To restore self-worth and create a greater sense of personal power, it is necessary to provide services in a way that restores the dignity and pride that has been stripped away as a result of the layoff. Acting in ways that reinforce self-blame and the perceived lack of self worth can be devastating; treating people with dignity and respect can be a first step to their empowerment.

For this reason, the tone and spirit of the services provided can be as important in overcoming the obstacles to their use as the design of the services themselves.

Stress: Dealing with the impact of a plant closure places workers in a stressful situation. This stress may have a serious impact of people's health and on their ability to function effectively. Stress has both physical and psychological effects. Stress symptoms may include feeling tired all the time, irritability and general depression, as well as the more dramatic rise in the occurrence of high blood pressure, heart attacks, and strokes. Because the stress of unemployment affects different people in different ways, it is often an invisible health hazard, but its consequences are real. For every 1 percent rise in national unemployment figures, there are 36,876 deaths, 20,240 heart failures, 495 deaths from alcohol related cirrhosis, 920 suicides, 648 homicides, 4,227 admissions to state mental hospitals, and 3,340 admissions to state prisons.[5] Layoffs are also accompanied by higher rates of family problems.

The whole period of unemployment, starting with the pre-closure, is a very stressful period. It is an intensification of the occupational stress that is part of the job. In the period just before the plant closes there will be more absenteeism, more illnesses, and more accidents, and this stress will continue in other forms after the layoff and closure. One of the effects of stress is a reduced tolerance of frustration, greater irritability, and less ability to control anger. This has a direct impact on teachers and service providers who will have to work with people under stress.

Each of the psychological obstacles identified above are part of creating the stress of unemployment. In turn, the cumulative effect of this stress becomes an additional obstacle. As the identified psychological issues are addressed, the stress is reduced. There are other simple ways that the symptoms of stress can be relieved, and information about stress should be made available to workers.

Research in Sweden and the United States has shown that the best buffer to the effects of stress is social support. This is true of work stress as well as the stress of not working.[6] When people are members of groups within which they feel accepted and cared about, their ability to deal with stress, at both the psychological and physiological level, is enhanced. Creating social support becomes an important way to strengthen people and help them overcome the obstacles that keep them from using available services.

Literacy: Though not technically a psychological issue, literacy has such a profound psychological impact that it must be touched upon in talking about the psychological obstacles to retraining and continuing education. There is such a stigma to illiteracy that it is very difficult for people to admit that this is the reason that they don't want to participate in dislocated worker programmes or to enter a classroom situation. Literacy becomes an issue of both technical and psychological readiness to undertake training.

A classic example of this occurred in a programme for workers dislocated when the Peterbilt Truck Plant closed in San Leandro, California. One of the men in the plant was identified by his co-workers as the true master machinist. He could, they said, touch a machine and know what was wrong with it. This was a person whom everyone expected to be able to make the transition to retraining and re-employment easily. However, this man could not read, and he lived in great fear that he would be ridiculed if anyone discovered his difficulty. For that reason, he would not enrol in the dislocated workers programme. It was only much later that people realised that he could not read and that was the obstacle that was keeping him from moving ahead. For this very talented and intelligent man, it took hours of individual and family counselling to help him overcome this obstacle and enrol in a literacy programme.

As in so many areas, defusing the shame and self-blame that people feel is the key to helping them overcome this obstacle. One way that this can be done is to show that the impact of industrial work, which is physically demanding and has not previously required or rewarded literacy, has made it "normal" to have lost literacy skills through disuse and the lack of intellectual reinforcement that workers have received on the job. It is important to dispel the belief that literacy and intelligence are the same thing. People who are not highly literate should be approached in a way that destigmatises their lack of literacy skills and places it in a context as a set of skills that needs brushing up.

Overcoming the Resistance to Retraining and Continuing Education Programmes

Because of the existence of these psychological obstacles that may prevent workers from taking advantage of educational opportunities, it is necessary to conceptualise the learning process in a larger perspective that gives special attention to outreach and the development of programmes that are designed to overcome some of these problems. To prepare dislocated workers to accept, and effectively use, retraining and continuing education opportunities requires an approach that incorporates psychological growth and personal empowerment as goals. For this reason, improving the educational process is not solely a question of developing better curriculum and more effective teaching techniques. It also means designing programmes that include counselling and support services that are geared to the needs, and culture, of workers.

In this section, we will focus on the various ways that the use of social support can become a key intervention in breaking through the obstacles that prevent workers from learning the skills and information that they need. This learning is critical both to help workers find employment in a highly competitive and changing job market and to enable them to lead satisfying lives in an increasingly complex world, both on and off the job.

We will also look at the role of peer counsellors in creating social support, and how pre-layoff programmes can play an important part in helping workers use existing educational and re-employment resources.

The Role of Social Support: Social support has been defined as belonging to groups that provide a sense of identity and belonging. In these groups people feel understood, accepted, valued, and cared about. This kind of social support not only provides emotional safety and comfort, it has been shown to increase the body's resistance to a variety of stress-related illnesses.

We have indicated that social support is the best buffer to the effects of the stress of unemployment, and this is important in itself. However, the role of social support in overcoming resistance to using educational opportunities goes far beyond this aspect. The role of social support takes on greater significance because the experience of dislocation has the opposite characteristics of social support.[7] This experience leaves many people stripped of their sense of identity, their value, and their place in the world. Social support is an important antidote.

In dealing with the psychological barriers that we have discussed, one of the most important interventions is to create settings where people feel free to talk about what is on their mind, especially their fears and anxieties, in an atmosphere where they can get support, encouragement, and insight into their situation. For many people who would not seek counselling, the social support groups, formal or informal, may be the only place where this can happen. Social support is often the catalyst that makes this possible. Once fears and anxieties are out in the open, it is much easier to deal with the specifics of the situation and help people move forward.

In situations where workers are dealing with the issues of dislocation, particularly if they are unable to find further training or work in a short period of time, isolation becomes a major obstacle to acting effectively. In the world of the dislocated worker, social support becomes an important tool for empowerment. To make retraining and other educational programmes work effectively, it is important to create settings in which people feel that they are not alone in a difficult time and that there are other people and resources available to them to help them get through.

Sources of Social Support: There are several important sources of potential social support:

Family: The role of family in providing social support is seldom given the attention that it deserves. The family is the place where social support can be most effective, or it can be a place that reinforces the negative messages implicit in the closure or layoff. One of the initial problems is that there is little or no support for the other members of the family who are also dealing with the effects of the layoff. For this reason, it is important to involve families by giving them as much information about programmes as possible. It is important to talk with family members to encourage them to support the retraining and educational efforts. For someone who is very anxious and unsure about participation in an educational programme, the strong support of family can make the difference between success and failure.

Work Family: As a source of social support, the role of the work family should not be overlooked. When plants close or large-scale layoffs occur, the workers affected often have 15 to 25 years of seniority in the plant. They have often spent more time with their co-workers than they have with their families. They have been a constant source of support for each other through thick and thin. When they are laid off, they are potentially cut off from one of the major sources of social support in their lives. If workers are feeling a sense of shame and self-blame because of their unemployed status, the tendency is to stay at home, avoid friends and co-workers, and generally withdraw from social contact. This isolation is fundamentally disempowering and often leads to family conflict and increased alcohol and drug consumption. People should be encouraged to stay in touch with members of the work family. If retraining or classroom work is being done through a dislocated worker programme, social events such as potlucks and baseball games can be an important way of bringing people together. The union can also play an active role in keeping its members together, and the union hall can be a place where people can stay in touch with each other.

Unemployed Support Groups: An unemployed support group may take a variety of forms, but it generally is focused on issues of retraining and re-employment. It may be an informal gathering that takes place on a particular day at the union hall, or it may be a more structured group that is serviced by job developers and educational specialists from dislocated worker programmes. These groups are particularly effective if peer counsellors and people with an understanding of the mental health issues of unemployment are involved. An important secondary benefit from these groups is that people with special needs and problems can be identified for follow-up support.

In addition to the specific information that can effectively be made available in this situation, the groups also function as social support groups that recreate a variant of the work family and help workers understand that the problems that they are facing are shared. In isolation, it is easy for dislocated workers to believe that they are the only ones who aren't coping with the situation. When others in the support groups express similar feelings and fears, it is very relieving.

A common situation arising in these groups may find one worker expressing the fact that his wife is upset with him because she feels he isn't "doing what he should" to get the necessary training or to get a job. Another worker may respond that his wife doesn't understand how scary it is to think of going back to school after all these years. From these opening comments a discussion then takes place that relieves people of the burden of thinking that they are the only ones having hard times. An outcome may be that two workers may decide to go together to check out training programmes and job leads, or the group as a whole decide to take a field trip to a training centre.

In another unemployed support group, several members wanted to take the postal examination for letter carriers. One of the facilitators of the group obtained some old examples of the exam and brought them to the next group meeting. In going over the examination it became clear to people that basic mathematical skills were required. Several people in the group admitted that they weren't very good at math, that they hadn't used math since they were in school twenty years earlier. The facilitator was able to talk about the fact that most people didn't use much math in their everyday lives, or weren't aware that they were using math skills in their everyday life. That might mean anything from figuring betting odds or batting averages to doing machine set-up. The idea behind the facilitator's intervention was to give a reason, besides personal failure, that people wouldn't have their math skills at their finger tips and that they actually had the basis for brushing up and developing those skills.

This is a very simple example of undermining self-blame and restoring dignity and pride, but an important one none the less. Out of the discussion a "class" was developed. A volunteer from the community came in two mornings a week to help people work on their basic math skills. The result of this was not only that several members took, and passed, the postal exam, but for others they had a positive learning experience that helped them conquer their fear of "classes" and enabled them to face the prospect of going back to school with less fear and apprehension.

Similar examples could be given in the area of literacy, a major obstacle to retraining and continuing education for workers. Again, a key first step is to destigmatise low literacy levels by giving people a context to explain why they may have weak reading skills regardless of their intelligence. A second step is to create a safe place where people can talk about their fears and their feelings about not reading. This process is a key link in connecting workers with existing literacy programmes that they might otherwise never consider. One particularly touching moment in one of the groups came when one of the older workers who had gone to a literacy class and had learned to read for the first time in his life returned to tell his friends and co-workers how exciting it was to be able to read and that they shouldn't be ashamed if they couldn't read, they should just go out and do something about it. This message, delivered by a peer, carries much more weight, and is much more freeing, than the same message delivered by a stranger or someone who is perceived as "a professional." The important element in all these examples is that the struggle has been transferred from the context of a personal problem to one that is being faced by dislocated workers as a group. The experience is shown to be normal, not a personal failure. Shame and self-blame are diffused.

In the specific context of adult education and retraining, study support groups can be set up. These groups are not only arenas where learning skills and course content can be studied, they are also places where people can discover that others are experiencing similar fears and difficulties, thus breaking down the isolation that is disempowering. Wherever possible, these groups should be set for specific populations, in this case dislocated workers, to create a non-threatening and comfortable place where people will feel free to share the problems they are facing and find positive support that will help them overcome their fears.

The Role of Peer Counsellors: One of the ways that has proven effective in increasing participation in retraining and other dislocated worker programmes has been the inclusion of paraprofessional peer counsellors as an integral part of the outreach effort to explain to workers the various training, education, and re-employment options available to them.[8] The use of peer counsellors is particularly important in working with this group because many workers are initially uncomfortable with professional service providers. The differences between the culture of the work place and the culture of social service programmes and educational institutions often makes it difficult for workers to take advantage of the programmes that are available. To get these services, workers must go into a setting with different rules and protocols. What seems perfectly normal to educators and administrators, testing for example, may seem very strange and threatening to workers. Peer counsellors provide a bridge between these two cultures.

Peer counsellors may be involved in a variety of programme aspects. They are particularly useful in spreading the word about available opportunities and helping people gain access to them. They also provide something that is critically important, a person they can trust in discussing their concerns. Peer counsellors can also help facilitate support groups, serve as case managers and ombudspeople, and serve as a source of information and referral to other services outside the programme or institution they are working with. Two obvious examples would be helping people who are having family problems or drug and alcohol problems get help so they can actively participate in the programme.

Training Peer Counsellors: Counselling can be described as a conscious form of helping people deal with the problems they face or figuring out ways to make their lives better. A big part of counselling is "being there" for people, and that is one of the primary roles of the peer counsellor. People are good peer counsellor material when other people describe them as "somebody you can trust," "easy to talk to," "someone who cares." Peer counselling training is simply taking people with natural counselling skills and making what they do more conscious. Through the training process they gain a greater understanding of how and why peer counselling works, and how to be more effective in the specific context of their programme.

The training process that is described here is just as appropriate for teachers and service providers as it is for peer counsellors. The problems faced by dislocated industrial workers are very different from those experienced by the chronically unemployed or middle class white-collar workers. Tutors, teachers aides, and teachers would profit from training modelled after the peer counsellor training described here.

To be effective, peer counsellors must care about the people they will be working with and respect their basic dignity. They must be able to help people find solutions to their problems without telling them what to do and without making judgements on the people they are helping. They must also have the patience to listen carefully and the discipline to respect confidentiality.

Training peer counsellors involves setting the context to help them understand their role, giving specific programme information, and providing preliminary training in basic counselling skills. The context setting involves giving the peer counsellors an overview of the impact of plant closures or large scale lay-offs on workers and their families. There are identifiable stages in the unemployment cycle that can be anticipated and there are a set of basic problems that displaced workers often encounter. Having a general understanding of this process helps peer counsellors respond more effectively. The specific information about available programme and non-programme services will be different in each situation. In their training, peer counsellors need to familiarise themselves with the available services and, whenever possible, with the people who will provide these services. The goal is to equip the peer counsellors with as much clear and accurate information as possible.

The primary counselling skill that peer counsellors need to develop is active listening. The role of the peer counsellor involves helping people arrive at their own solutions to the problems they face, not telling what to do. Even the best intentioned people usually listen to what is being said with the aim of giving advice or coming up with the "right" answer. People must be trained to listen in a different way, a way that asks questions that help people sort out what they are feeling as well as what they are thinking. This is a primary goal in training peer counsellors.

A corollary skill to active listening is learning to respond with empathy, not sympathy. Sympathy reinforces the difficulty or even hopelessness of a situation; empathy allows people to feel that they are understood and supported in acting to turn difficult situations around. Learning to be an active, empathic listener also prepares peer counsellors to be able to validate what clients are feeling. Blocked feelings are major obstacles to effective functioning, and validating people's feelings is an important part of the work of the peer counsellor.

Examples of the Role of Peer Counsellors: Two examples of ways in which peer counsellors have been effective in helping people approach further training illustrate their role. In a pre-layoff programme jointly sponsored by the United Auto Workers and General Motors, one of the peer counsellors had recently gone back to school, taking advantage of a programme available to employed and unemployed GM workers. His fear was that the students in these classes who were recently out of high school would be "a lot smarter than me." What he found, instead, was that his experience and maturity allowed him to learn in a different way. He was amazed to find out that he was able to compete with recent graduates without much difficulty. When, as part of his assignment as a peer counsellor, he went out to let people know about the availability of this training, he was able to tell people what his experience had been. Since many of the workers had the same fears about their ability, hearing his story helped give them confidence that they might succeed as well.

In another pre-layoff situation, this time in a UAW/Chrysler programme, workers were encouraged to take a range of tests which would help determine what kind of training or further education might be appropriate for them. The fear of being judged as dumb or inadequate was a strong disincentive, as was the fear of others finding out the test results, including management. In fact, the test was not something that someone could "fail" and the confidentiality of the results was well protected. But, no matter how eloquently the people administering the test explained this, resistance was high. In this situation the six peer counsellors who had been chosen to work in the programme went through the variety of tests, enjoyed them, and felt that they had learned a lot from them. They were also convinced of the confidentiality of the tests and the sensitivity of the people administering them. They were then able to encourage workers to take the test based on their experience. The level of resistance dropped dramatically, and eventually most of the workers in the plant went through the testing.

For workers who have been employed over a long period, the unknown future may be inordinately frightening. It is difficult to look at significant life changes, particularly for older workers or for women or minorities who may face discrimination in getting other employment. It is very difficult for many workers to talk about their fears and feelings. Talking about these fears to a therapist or a social service provider may seem very alien; talking to a friend and co-worker is not. Peer counsellors who have been trained to destigmatise these fears and who have been in similar situations make it much easier to talk about these things. This may also result in people shifting the focus of blame and anger from themselves to corporate attitudes toward workers, economic conditions, and government policies. Once people are able to express their anger and talk about their fears, it is easier to deal with them concretely. One of the greatest strengths of peer counsellors is their ability to talk with people in a way that breaks down isolation and lets people know they are not alone in facing the inevitable problems associated with plant closures and layoffs.

Pre-Layoff Programmes: The use of pre-layoff programmes can be instrumental in helping dislocated workers approach retraining and further education with a positive attitude. As in dealing with any potential problem, early intervention and prevention is far more efficient than programmes to deal with serious problems after they have developed. The importance of the pre-layoff programme is that it gets people thinking about, and acting on, future plans before the layoff or closure occurs. It is often harder to initiate action after the layoff because of the psychological impact of the event itself. If something is in place before this happens, it makes the transition much easier.

Pre-layoff programmes in the auto industry are well developed. Backed by a negotiated package of retraining and educational services, the programmes available to auto workers are, in the context of the United States, unique in their scope. They include tuition assistance (available both during active employment and after the layoff or closure), technical preparation classes (often on-site at the plant) in basic math, literacy, and computer sciences, and job search workshops and outplacement services. These programmes employ peer counsellors from the affected plant to carry out the pre-layoff programme in conjunction with supporting professional staff.

A typical programme may involve individual outreach, orientation meetings, small group meetings, and individual planning sessions. The orientation sessions are used to disseminate benefit and programme information. The small group meetings are primarily designed to answer questions and to get people talking about their feelings and their fears. They are also designed to raise issues about the impact of the closure or layoff on families. The individual planning session is a further opportunity to communicate specific information about training and educational opportunities and to begin informal career planning discussions. Its main importance, however, is to focus people's thinking about what they are going to do when they are laid off and to establish a connection with one of the peer counsellors which gives them access to support and information. Follow up contact by the peer counsellors, which may involve referral to other programme components or community resources, is a key to the success of the programme. They are there as a constant reminder of the support and services available and provide the opportunity for people to talk about issues surrounding the closing and future plans.

Pre-layoff programmes are effective in overcoming obstacles to retraining and continuing education in a number of ways. Not only do they become a familiar and trusted source of information and point of connection for service, but they become an early intervention to deal with the psychological obstacles which were discussed earlier. The presence of these programmes, and the existence of the peer counsellors, play a key role in addressing denial. The programme is a tangible sign of what is to come. The processes of group discussion and peer counselling become important places for the expression of the anger and fear that can be immobilising if they are not dealt with directly. The programme becomes a form of social support that helps break down isolation and helps people understand that they are not alone in their fears and feelings. Shifting the focus of the problem from the individual to a larger group of people, all facing the same difficult transitions, weakens the effect of self-blame. One of the key elements of the pre-layoff programme is the development of an approach to social support which emphasises the pride and dignity of the workers and the contributions they have made through their skill and industry. This encouragement and support also addresses the issue of motivation.

It is important to contrast the effect of programmes such as these, which are currently available to only a small percentage of workers, with the experience of other workers. Statistics provided by the U. S. General Accounting Office indicate that only one third of dislocated workers receive more than two weeks notice of the closure. Another third receives no notice at all. Many of these workers receive no benefits beyond unemployment insurance. The majority of these workers do not enjoy programme benefits or have the supportive context to examine future educational or retraining options. Some of these workers do have access to federally-funded programmes, but this still only accounts for a small proportion of eligible workers nation-wide.

Creating Supportive Environments: One of the effects of being a dislocated worker, or of undergoing any extensive period of unemployment, is to undermine self-confidence and the sense of personal identity. This generalised sense of powerlessness and lack of worth results in apathy and a loss of trust in the future. We have emphasised that one of the key elements in successful educational and re-employment programmes is the ability to restore the sense of pride and efficacy that has been stripped away by the circumstances of the closure or lay-off. In addition to the importance of the way dislocated workers are treated by programme staff members, there are specific principles that can improve the rate of success in retraining and continuing education programmes.

Every effort must be made to make the training setting unthreatening and comfortable, to help ease the transition that many industrial workers must make in going from the shop floor to the classroom. Initially, this may mean holding classes in the plant or in the union hall, so that the setting is familiar. Services provided on the workers' "turf" are more readily accessible and accepted. Setting up special classes for dislocated workers to create a sense of safety can help workers overcome some of their fear and anxiety about returning to the classroom. If people can have learning success in a safe environment, it enables them to move with more confidence into settings which may seem strange or even hostile.

In one programme in Pontiac, Michigan, where major layoffs and eventual closure for the plant were scheduled well in advance, workers worked in production four days a week and on the fifth day classes of all kinds were offered in the plant for those who wanted to take advantage of them. At other auto plants portable buildings were brought in to allow easy access to classes offered through the local community colleges. In other areas buildings were constructed or renovated to create classroom space specifically for both active and dislocated workers. Many of these programmes were set up and administered by the workers themselves.

Whatever the physical location, it is important that an informal and accepting atmosphere be created. Many workers will not return to a classroom setting where they feel they are being treated in a condescending way. If they do not feel free to ask questions and get answers, they will be less likely to commit themselves to educational programmes. Unemployed and dislocated workers have different needs than recent school leavers, and programmes which include both must take this into account. A teaching style based on control and the use of rewards and punishments will not be as effective as one based on acceptance of people and their worth, and an honest attempt to take people from wherever they are to the desired goal. For this reason, self-paced instructional methods are often effective.

Summary: Lessons for Practice and Policy Implications

In this chapter, we have tried to show some of the difficulties facing dislocated industrial workers in their efforts to make a transition to a new work setting in the context of a new work environment which is strongly influenced by the internationalisation of the production process and new technology. For many workers, this event represents a starting over, a major life event requiring specialised attention and support.

Creating an Appropriate and Accessible Programme: Workers who have had their lives severely disrupted by a large-scale layoff or plant closure have a right to receive the services that will enable them to get the further training and education they will need to successfully compete in this new job market. It is not enough to say that services exist to meet those needs; it is necessary to make the services accessible and class, race and gender appropriate. Services based on a white, male, middle class model will not be effective. However, because many workers are uncomfortable seeking help, waiting passively for workers to come to services of any kind will inevitably lead to many of those most in need of help falling through the cracks. With this in mind, it is crucially important to utilise the combined knowledge of trained peer counsellors, mental health professionals, and educators to design these services and take them into both traditional and non-traditional settings. Outreach efforts through the union may be much more effective than those coming from the local community college. Classes in the union hall may have a higher retention rate than those held in a school. Having peer counsellors serve as the liaison between programmes and workers may increase credibility and trust.

Prevention and Early Intervention: To intervene to make the transition facing workers a smooth one, it is important that early intervention and prevention be practised. One of the best ways to accomplish this is through the use of pre-layoff programmes which help people deal concretely with the problems they will face when they are unemployed or dislocated before it actually happens. Creating some momentum towards getting the training and education that will be needed after the layoff will help avoid many of the problems that may otherwise develop.

Restoring Dignity and Pride: Because one of the greatest needs in this period is to restore the sense of dignity and efficacy that has been challenged by the loss of work and identity, it is critical that programmes and service providers be very sensitive to this need. The use of peer counsellors and the development of strong social support systems are critical in this area. It is very difficult to build an aggressive plan for training and education on a foundation of shame and self-blame. Restoring that sense of pride and dignity is often a pre-condition to developing and acting on plans for the future.

Rethinking the Concept of Education: Almost twenty years ago, UNESCO opened its International Year of Education with a statement recognising that education should no longer be thought of as a preparation for life, but as a dimension of life.[9] In the long range, the continued well-being of workers requires that they develop learning skills that will enable them to make the necessary changes and transitions that the rapidly-changing nature of work requires. Attitudes toward learning must be changed. The sense of education that is too often communicated to young people in the classroom is that learning is boring--and not for them. In this respect, the union education and unemployed committees can play a key role, along with progressive educators and programme administrators, in changing attitudes toward learning. This may mean developing learning environments that combine theoretical and practical learning and accommodate the differing learning styles that exist in any group of learners. For many workers, hands-on instruction is much more effective than classroom lecture. And, first and foremost, learning environments must be created that are exciting and empowering, that communicate to people their basic ability to learn and some of the excitement that follows from the learning process.

Ultimately, it will be necessary to break down the too-rigid distinction that currently exists between work and learning. In some of the team approaches to production the seed of this idea already exists, but it needs to be expanded so that lifelong learning is an assumption that people grow up with, just as they are currently taught that education is something that ends before work and real life begins. In that more enlightened future, the distinction between "formal schooling" and adult education will disappear. Education must be seen as preparation for and continuation of change in all areas of life, in the workplaces and in the community at large.

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CHAPTER 5

Communication and Information System for the Unemployed:

A Systems Approach to a Systems Problem

By Otto Feinstein

This chapter will use the Communication and Information System for the Unemployed (CISU) experience in Detroit, Michigan, from February 1984 through June 1986 as a case study dealing with the possibility of creating a comprehensive short- and long-term, adult education response to unemployment. It will attempt to address the basic issues raised by Kevin Ward and Keith Forrester in Chapter 2 of this volume.

The Context

In 1983, there were over 800,000 officially tabulated unemployed workers out of the 8,000,000 population of the state of Michigan. Hundreds of thousands of skilled, traditionally employed, workers (now called "dislocated workers") had joined the hundreds of thousands of hard-core (called "hard-to-serve") unemployed and underemployed. It was at this time that the Job Training Partnership Act (JTPA), the major United States programme for dealing with job location and job retraining, was enacted at the federal (national) level.

Word soon spread throughout the state that some 200 million dollars of federal funds would be available for Michigan to assist the unemployed in job-location, training, and education. This "immense" sum was for the first year and a half of the new legislation.

It was quickly apparent that most job-location, training, and education institutions were preparing to apply for this money to assist the unemployed. It was equally clear that few, if any, had divided the "immense" sum of money by the number of unemployed. The 200 million dollars divided by 800,000 unemployed would result in an average of 250 dollars per unemployed person. The re-training costs of a single worker, at the time, ranged between 5,000 and 10,000 dollars.

Three results could be anticipated: **first**, assuming the most cost-effective use of the funding, no more than 40,000 unemployed (5 percent of the total) could be served; **second**, a political crisis could be expected (much like the relative deprivation problem during the War Against Poverty) where the general public would view the "immense" sum of 200 million dollars as ample for dealing with the problem, while 95 percent of those confronting the problem would receive no services at all[1]; and **third**, given these pressures the funds would be used for job-location and retraining projects of high visibility, rather than being spent on programmes which would build a system capable of responding to the long-run (as well as the short-run) employment-related needs of the "post-industrial" society. The funds would thus be **consumed** and not **invested**.

It was clear that the socio-economic forces which had led to the creation of dislocated workers and to the hard-core unemployed and under-employed were not going to disappear. In fact, they were likely to become permanent features of the "post-industrial" society. It was thus decided to develop a systems approach to a systems problem.

To prevent what Ward and Forrester call "encapsulation," a system for providing some services to all unemployed and making the scope of the problem apparent to the general public was essential. This would require a comprehensive approach, avoiding duplication of services and based on coalition-building and networking. The approach would provide short-run services with a strategy of building a long-run system. It would turn consumption into investment.

It was in this context that CISU was proposed. The proposition was to use 1 percent of the 200 million dollars to serve 95 percent of the then unemployed, and in so doing build a system capable of responding to the long-term needs of the society. The proposal had come from a coalition involving the United Auto Workers (UAW), the Michigan Employment Security Commission (MESC), WTVS/Channel 56 (Detroit's public television station), and Wayne State University (WSU); this coalition had cooperated in higher education activities for unemployed workers since 1973 and had sponsored a major television series in 1980, *While You're Out of Work*, aimed at the region's vast number of unemployed. This series informed the unemployed and their families regarding available services, as well as informing the community-at-large about the nature and dimensions of the unemployment problem. In this process the coalition had become the centre of a massive network of agencies and organisations providing services to the unemployed, and had come to the attention of the unemployed, their families, and the general public. It thus started into the CISU project with some of the issues raised by Ward and Forrester as already-identified problems to be dealt with: providing comprehensive up-to-date information, monitoring and evaluating these services, operationally defining the word "unemployed," involving the unemployed and the general public, and looking at the problem as a feature of modern society. The use of broadcast (public television) and cable television was a major innovation of the project.

In February 1984, the CISU coalition received its first funding, a commitment of 2.5 million dollars for a 30-month period, from JTPA funding.[2] Over the following two and a half years, CISU succeeded in building a massive system for helping the unemployed, their families, and the agencies, institutions, and organisations which assisted them. It also laid the groundwork for a system which was replicable and adaptable to other regions.

Theoretical Issues

The CISU project was explicitly based on the premise that the dimensions of the unemployment problem in Southeast Michigan exceeded the existing means and current resources available and that a new system utilising modern communications technology was needed to maximise such resources in order to significantly address the major problems.

The initial function of the project was to link the unemployed worker to service providers without the system duplicating essential services. It was to be a low-cost, highly efficient communication system which, in addition, linked the service providers to each other. This was to enhance JTPA-related projects and regional cooperation among the Private Industry Councils (PICs).[3] The CISU system would thus ensure that nearly every unemployed person in this region would get some service through the use of JTPA funds. The underlying assumption was that unemployment, under-employment, and retraining were systems problems and could only be responded to by a systems approach which was attuned to the wide-range of cultures, information obtaining and sharing, and learning styles of the many different types of unemployed and of the formal and informal institutions helping them. This assessment of the situation would require a well-functioning coalition of institutions, responsive and involved with the unemployed and capable of addressing essentially different needs. This approach forced us to address the issue of "lack of coordination between a wide range of initiatives."[4] The broad scope to the coalition gave us the means with which to address the issues.

The long-term function of the project was aimed at the development of a permanent Southeast Michigan training and education communication/information system based on projections of the rate of technological and economic change which made it quite evident that the employed and the yet-to-be employed would require the assistance of just such a system a number of times during their working lives if they and the economy were to remain viable. Implicit in this function was the development of a long-term coalition (federation) of institutions, involvement of both the service providers and the unemployed, and a mechanism for resource allocation to both. We thus had to address the issues of: "monitoring and evaluation, collection of precise information about outcomes; the need for more discussion about the objectives of particular initiatives and the policy issues arising from them; and also the significant involvement of unwaged people in developing initiatives and contributing to policy."[5]

By choosing a systems approach to a systems problem, we were forced to think about the "big picture"–policy, projects, individual interventions, and behaviours. We also had to look at the inter-connections between them. The way the project was structured meant that all projects in Southeast Michigan would have access to this process.

The CISU model, responsive to both the short- and long-term functions described above, was based on the experience of WTVS (Detroit's public television station), the UAW (representing the workers hardest hit by unemployment and industrial adjust adjustment), the MESC (dealing with employment and unemployment since the Great Depression), Wayne State University (the region's urban research university), and the Southeast Michigan Educational Television Consortium (involving 20 higher education institutions and linked to the public and parochial school systems of the region). This coalition had developed around three previous efforts: the highly successful *While You're Out of Work* telethon (November 1980), which reached over 100,000 homes; the annual WTVS *Youth Employment* telethon; and the CISU pilot series *Getting Out the Word* (November 14-18, 1983).

Planning for CISU began in January 1983, with the above groups and many other additional institutions, organisations, and networks joining in the effort, making it one of the most broad-based projects in Southeast Michigan's history.

The many years of experience represented in the coalition resolved a number of theoretical issues raised in the Ward-Forrester chapter:

> 1. While vocational training is a critical element in preparing the unemployed for future employment, it is not the main road to employment for large numbers of both dislocated workers and the hard-core unemployed. Education, job-find, and survival information and activities may be the initial route to employment for many and are elements which are important to all.
> 2. Unemployment, under-employment, and education/re-training needs are long-run issues of major importance to the economy and the society as a whole. While the types and numbers of unemployed may change, the phenomena is here to stay.

> 3. Outreach to the unemployed is an extremely difficult problem and must respond to the way today's unemployed receive and absorb information. This is only **one** of the major differences between the unemployment situation in the 1930s and today.[6]
> 4. Coalitions at four levels–top regional officials, mid-level managers, field workers from agencies serving the unemployed, and from the unemployed around a joint project with its own core staff–**can** resolve the "within" versus the "outside" of institutions dilemma, which pits individual growth/development against collective growth and community development.[7]
> 5. There is **not** one way that adults learn and there is **not** one pedagogy by which to teach them. Even for an individual teacher and learner, the techniques and content change. As a result, a wide range of options must be available, an atmosphere has to be created where techniques are continuously studied/evaluated, training programmes for both instructors and learners frequently available, and innovation/flexibility is encouraged.

Based on the above theoretical positions, the CISU coalition proposed to develop a **system** which would provide three basic services: **one**, reach the unemployed and their families with accurate information about a wide range of services available under JTPA and other programmes aimed at assisting the unemployed; **two**, provide actual services (assessment, job search, referral, training/education, counselling, job creation) by means of the new system in cooperation with the agencies, organisations, and institutions active in the field; and **three**, act as a regional communications link and information clearing-house between these agencies, organisations, and institutions, including the PICs and their staffs.

To provide these three basic services, CISU had to simultaneously develop five elements if the system was to be operational. These were: community **viewing-sites** and groups with experienced staff and a wide range of face-to-face activities; 24-hour-per-day **cable** and ITFS[6] **programming**; a mass outreach mechanism of **television broadcasts** for five days, three times a year, along with a major media blitz reaching the vast majority of the unemployed and the general community; an **information brokerage** and staff training operation; and job research and project evaluation.

Aims and Objectives

The basic goals of the CISU coalition were to be achieved in three phases: the first phase (January through June 1984) was to activate all five elements of the system; the second phase (July 1984 through June 1985) was to make the system fully operational; and the third phase (July 1985 through June 1986) was to make the CISU system state-wide and able to survive without JTPA funds and to inform other high-unemployment regions in the United States and abroad about what we had learned. For the first two phases, Southeast Michigan was to be CISU's operational base; it is the home of about half of Michigan's population.

To activate the system and to make it fully operational, a series of major objectives (outcomes) had to be achieved.[7] All of them involved coalition building and networking. The basic objectives were quite clear: develop a system by means of a coalition capable of responding to both personal (consumption) and societal (production) needs in a cost-effective manner.

The methods to be used would combine mass media and organisational outreach with face-to-face cable and video-assisted intensive services and referrals. The system would be based on procedures for getting accurate and complete information, providing training for the involved personnel from the wide range of participating organisations, and continually evaluating and reporting upon its functioning.

The concept of "critical-mass" was essential in a number of ways: it kept the issue of unemployment, in its broadest and most specific aspects, before the public eye and thus empowered the service providers and the unemployed; it mobilised available resources in a cost-effective manner for both the providers and the unemployed; it clarified to funders, the public, and the users, the areas in which resources were available and where they were needed. It is this "critical-mass" aspect of CISU which raises one of the most interesting questions: Is it possible at other times and in other places to develop a project of this magnitude and visibility? And, if so, how can this be done in other settings with other types of resources?

Our aim was to involve the entire society in dealing with an immediate, massive, real, problem, and at the same time to build a long-term structure preventing the issue from being swept under the rug when the media and the mass public became bored of hearing about unemployment. Finally, it was our belief that the theoretical issues raised in the Ward-Forrester chapter will all be answered if we take a systems approach to a systems problem, and if we can activate the "critical-mass" required for such an undertaking.

Outcomes

During the two-and-a-half year development and implementation phases, CISU provided the outcomes necessary for taking a systems approach to a systems problem and for activating the "critical-mass."

CISU produced and broadcast its quarterly television programme *Outreach* with Detroit's public television station and in so doing received major coverage by all local newspapers, radio, and television stations. It developed a variety of new, low-cost television formats for reaching and involving the unemployed and those serving them. In so doing it reached the general public. It also received four local television EMMY awards, the annual Michigan Public Broadcasting Pioneering Award, and national recognition in newspapers, trade journals, and governmental agencies.

CISU organised a 24 hour-per-day ITFS signal reaching 82 communities with **480,000 cabled homes**. This required negotiations with 36 cable companies serving southeast Michigan and with the cable commissions in those communities, as well as providing and installing the required equipment. CISU programmed over 37,000 half-hours of cable-casts on the *Working Channel*. It produced hundreds of new video programmes for broadcast, cablecast, and VCR utilisation. Over 800 local agencies and organisations participated in programming on CISU's *Working Channel* and other media activities, including related on-site activities.

CISU created a **network of 210 viewing and group activity sites** covering Southeast Michigan, and located in union halls, libraries, community centres, and social service agencies. More than 2,500 dislocated workers were served at these sites, most being referred to other agencies or using the sites in projects co-sponsored by other agencies. CISU itself organised pilot projects through which 285 "dislocated" workers were placed into "unsubsidised,"[10] private sector, jobs at an average wage of $6.01 per hour. Further, 250 "hard-to-serve" unemployed were referred to secondary school completion programmes (GED) through CISU's education assessment workshop; and, 270 "hard-to-serve" unemployed were placed into higher education programmes by the same process. CISU also developed and implemented special formats for serving unemployed, mostly Vietnam, veterans, which involved a coalition with 22 veterans' organisations. Over 1,000 call-ins from unemployed veterans and 200 new (called-in) job offers for unemployed veterans from employers were received through one telethon alone. A winter-time survival services telethon, resulting in the direct participation of over 400 hard-to-reach unemployed at CISU viewing sites, was relayed to all cable systems carrying the *Working Channel*. In cooperation with seven Southeast Michigan school districts the secondary school completion series (GED) was jointly offered as a pilot project for the unemployed. A wide range of other pilot projects were also developed with special unemployed constituencies like youth unemployed, minorities, older workers, dislocated home-makers, ex-offenders, and other JTPA high priority groups.

The other two elements of the CISU system had also been developed during this period: the information brokerage and training system and the evaluation, reporting, and dissemination structure. CISU received significant national and local media coverage, and numerous awards–including a commendation from the Office of the U. S. Supreme Court Chief Justice, for its work with ex-offenders, the 1985-86 Innovative Program Award from the National University Continuing Education Association, and many others. The model was adapted for use in British Columbia (Canada) and representatives from other countries and regions of the U. S. visited and recommended the model for adaptation and implementation.

By June 13, 1986, CISU had not only served a wide range of unemployed, combining mass-communications with face-to-face services, but had also developed a technical capacity by which institutions and agencies could reach a vast majority of the population in their homes and institutions on more than a superficial basis, plus a human capacity to influence the nature of the programming on the mass media. This approach also served to strengthen social networks, offering new possibilities for individuals and the society to overcome problems. It offers us an insight on how participation and pluralism can be fostered by the combination of technology, face-to-face activities, broad four-level coalitions, and networking.[11]

Out of this experience emerged a new structure for CISU, called the Adult Learning and Employment Centers, or the

ALEC Network, an adaptation of the CISU viewing site/viewing group network. Each *ALEC* provided such CISU services as the Working Circle (job club), Self-Assessment Course (education and training placement), Job Find, and Survival Referral Service. By the end of July there were to be 48 *ALEC*s with 192 feeder institutions across Southeast Michigan. All were to be linked to and by the *Working Channel* with telephone lines and computers providing inter-activity for the unemployed, their families, and the service workers. The 800 agencies and institutions would be linked to both the *ALEC*s and the *Working Channel*, with the information brokerage, training, and evaluation services keeping the system conscious of its mission and the human beings involved.

Evaluation and Monitoring

The key event for **evaluating the outcomes** of CISU occurred on June 13, 1986–a one day conference sponsored by CISU at Wayne State University entitled The Unemployment Crisis: The Telecommunications Response. An analysis of this event will give us answers to the three types of **outcomes** identified by Ward and Forrester [12]:

1. Programme/project outcomes;
2. Practical/development outcomes; and
3. Policy issues.

We will first provide some information on the June 13 event and then report on the three types of outcomes.

The conference was designed to develop the transition of CISU from an experimental programme based on JTPA discretionary funds to a network institutionalised into the Southeast Michigan community on the basis of continued coalition and in response to the needs and judgments of the networks linked to CISU. The conference brochure stated that it "was designed for those interested in a unique system of combining mass communications-technology with face-to-face human services to benefit the unemployed." Its sponsorship indicated that it had reached the policy level. Among its sponsors were the Governor, Secretary of State, and Attorney General of Michigan, the two U. S. Senators who represent the state in Washington, and the seven U. S. Congressmen representing districts in Southeast Michigan. The Mayor of Detroit, the County Executives from Wayne, Oakland, and Macomb counties, and State Senators and Representatives from Southeast Michigan, as well as members of the State Board of Education and the Superintendent of the Detroit Public Schools were also on the list of sponsors. Policy-making officials in the U. S. Department of Labor were also involved in the event.

The CISU executive committee on the day of the conference was linked to all three levels of activity inherent in the Forrester-Ward model. They were heavily involved in the planning of the conference and in CISU activities. They included people from Macomb Community College, Hartford Memorial Baptist Church, WTVS/Channel 56, the Metropolitan Detroit Health Council, the library systems of Southeast Michigan, Barden Cable Communications, Durocher Public Relations, Career Works, Wayne PIC, Michigan Department of Education, United Community Services, Wayne State University, Greater Detroit Alliance of Business, Neighborhood Services Organization, Michigan Employment Security Commission, Michigan State University, Detroit Association of Black Organizations, City of Detroit Employment and Training Division, Michigan Ethnic Heritage Center, United Automobile Workers, AFL-CIO, Wayne County Community College, New Detroit, Inc., City of Huntington Woods, Fellowship Chapel, Wayne State University Urban Studies Center, and the Bi-Lingual and Migrant Workers Program of the State of Michigan.

The conference brochure defined CISU as "uniquely combining modern mass communications technology with face-to-face human services to respond to the unemployment crisis. It is a broad coalition of agencies, groups, and institutions and operated on the basis of networking, sharing of resources and knowledge." The general goal of the conference was to define the dimensions of unemployment and its attendant problems as integral features of every industrial society in this epoch. The specific goal was "to determine the CISU response by seeing the system at work, promote wide use of this model, and replicate it in other parts of the state, nation, and beyond."

Invitations were sent to social service providers, adult/vocational/higher education, organised labour, funding agencies, business/chambers of commerce, elected officials/staffs, media, libraries/learning resources centres, community organisations, the unemployed, and other organisations/agencies concerned with the unemployed. The fee, including lunch, a reception, and parking was 25 dollars, free for the unemployed. The target participants were all linked to the three levels of activity–programme, practice, and policy. The meeting was specifically structured to impact on these three levels and to develop the CISU agenda for the next few years in this context.

The programme lasted from 9:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m. and was organised as follows: from 9-10 a.m. there was a multi-media presentation of *How CISU Works and What It Can Do For You.* From 10-12 a.m. the international, national, and state dimensions of unemployment were presented by experts with a response panel of local experts relating it to the Southeast Michigan scene. This approach linked local experience and issues to the larger picture, making concern on the policy level practical and possible. At the 12-2 p.m. lunch *The CISU "Menu": How It Works and How You Can Use It* was presented to the entire group, setting the scene for the afternoon sessions. From 2-3 p.m. and 3-4 p.m. a series of small workshops were organised for the purpose of ordering from the "menu." This part of the day was designed to relate practice to programme, while allocating the potential of CISU (and its resources) to meet the needs of the coalition members, the parties in the network, and the unemployed. If this worked, it would respond to immediate needs, while building a long-term system; in our jargon–**create capital while consuming.** In the language of Ward and Forrester, it was also designed to deal with the "production and consumption side of the economy."[13] From 4-5 p.m. a plenary session heard a report, based on summing up the "menu" orders, of the 1986-87 agenda for CISU. This allowed the participants to see how their input would shape the direction of the system, while at the same time responding to their immediate needs. Budgetary and organisational and administrative issues would be clear to all. The final point on the agenda was tying the day's process back to the "big picture" (macro context) and policy.

The concept of the "menu" was critical for the institutional transition of CISU and for its participatory/pluralist nature. It thus deserves some attention at this point in the chapter. The "menu" consisted of two parts: the Video "Menu" and the Face-to-Face "Menu." The Video "Menu" related to the programming of the CISU cable system, the *Working Channel*, which by 1987 would be able to reach 900,000 Southeast Michigan homes. The conference participants and their organisations could choose from the following Video "Menu" items: getting programming on the channel, production of public service announcements on the *Working Channel* and other cable outlets, mini-documentaries, training videos, feature-length productions, teleconferences, weekly-programme series, the video-catalogue telethon, and the seasonal outreach on broadcast television. Choosing from the "menu" would allow the participating organisations to meet, and often to develop their media needs. The cost to them would be modest, but the total number of video "menu" orders would make the *Working Channel* fiscally autonomous from direct state funding, while creating a total programming schedule for it.

The Face-to-Face "Menu" was designed to develop the *ALEC* system as a replacement for the previous 210 site, viewing, and activity centres. The participants would use the "menu" to offer their facilities and staff as one of the 48 *ALEC* sites or one of the

192 feeder locations. From the "menu" they could choose the following activities for either their sites or clients: Job Search/Job Club (The Working Circle), the Job-Find Clinic (which also involved our contact with employers for job openings), the Self-Assessment Course, Adult Basic Education Courses, Secondary School Completions (GED), the Entry-level College Curriculum, and referral to available survival services and training/education opportunities. Most of these services would be provided by institutions working with CISU, some by CISU directly. CISU, in cooperation with other agencies, would also provide training for personnel in other agencies referring people to the *ALEC*s and performing *ALEC* functions. All services would be able to use production and programming on the *Working Channel*.

Two hundred and forty two institutions and organisations sent representatives to the conference, joining the CISU staff, the presenters, and a number of unemployed who had participated in various aspects of the CISU programme. Some of those attending were high-ranking officials of organisations and institutions with hundreds of employees and tens of thousands of members or clients, others were from small, autonomous, and even voluntary groups.

By the end of the day, 139 Video "Menu" orders and 124 Face-to-Face "Menu" orders had been placed. In addition, CISU had been invited to make the "menu" presentation at a number of large institutions.

The "menu" concept (22 possible activities and services), the *ALEC* system (48 *ALEC*s and 192 feeder locations), and the *Working Channel* (24-hour-per-day cablecast and production facilities) were the core elements of an adapted CISU system which emerged from two and a half years of organisation, coalition building, and networking. The June 13 conference was both the evaluation and metamorphosis of the system. It allowed hundreds of organisations and institutions to participate in the evaluation and monitoring of the process. As a result, they participated in shaping the metamorphosis not only to meet their own programmatic needs but also the needs of the entire community. This systems approach, in combination with coalition building, networking, and the "Menu" process, allowed CISU to operate on all four levels of outcomes:[14]

1. **Programme/project outcomes**: the specific results of the CISU project as initially conceived and later amended to meet the political needs of the funders;[15]
2. **Practice/development outcomes**: what is "generalisable" from particular projects of other adult educators at the intervention and behavioural levels;
3. **Policy issues**: what are the implications of policies at the national, regional, local, and institutional levels for education and training needs of both the unemployed and the society at large?
4. **The big picture**: what is the short- and long-run nature of the problem we are dealing with and can we contribute to its understanding from our experience while implementing our specific responses (projects)?

By developing the "menu" process, CISU had built a "restaurant" with a "kitchen" to meet the communication and information needs of the unemployed and those serving them. The "menus" made both the limits and possibilities of CISU clearly visible to all. In that context, it gave participants a wide range of choices in relation to types of services and the points in time when they would wish to use them. Once the order was placed (at the June 13 conference) a response could be given within three hours, and a general strategy for CISU would emerge at the same time, right in front of the participants, by combining all the orders from the menus. The allocation and strategy process was thus not only rapid and visible, but was based on the individual and the common needs. In this manner the four levels of outcomes were pragmatically linked right in front of all participants. As they moved to meet their needs, they could directly observe the inter-relation of the four levels and feel how they related to their own activities.

When we reported the sum total of all orders from the two "menus" to the last plenary session of the June 13 conference it was evident to all that the system was responsive to their needs, without the usual, lengthy, and uncertain bureaucratic procedures with which they were all well acquainted. They could also see how other agencies and organisations were responding to the current unemployment/employment situation, and in the "menu" ordering workshops they heard about the practice, interventions, and behaviours which their colleagues from other organisations were involved in.

The simplicity and rapidity of this process was a major innovation, not only in relation to employment/unemployment issues, but for public bureaucracies dealing with major issues in general. From the point of view of the education of adults, it integrated many of the major findings in relation to pedagogy (the ability of a teacher to transmit knowledge meaningfully) and andragogy (the ability, desires, and modes of adults to learn) into a flexible, region-wide system which was beginning to inter-relate the various units of the formal and informal educational system in Southeast Michigan. The "menu" process empowered all of the people involved, leading to a greater willingness to innovate and cooperate. Without imposing from one level to the other, the "menu" process could lead to significant coordination of resources and thus cost-effectiveness.[16]

The June 13 conference developed a process which was democratic, pluralistic, and at the same time both cost- and time-effective. By being public, this process made the entire system accountable–to the unemployed, to the funders, to the various levels of workers involved with these issues, and to the community as a whole. In one day it made visible the linkage of the big picture to the implementation and evaluation of policy, the potential of coordination of programmes, the development of practice (interventions and behaviours), and what had been accomplished by means of cooperation over two and a half years. By using a systems approach, it linked these different levels of thought and experience into an evolving, responsive, evaluatable,[17] and accountable system.

At the end of June 13 day the building of the CISU system had been accomplished. A streamlined programme and structure was in place. Its activities would now be de-centralised and basically self-supporting (not dependent on Title III funding from the Michigan Governor's JTPA funds).[18]

Conclusion

A quick overview of adult education responses to unemployment in industrial nations indicates three distinct approaches. The first is to provide whatever services are available to get the unemployed back to work, or as Ward and Forrester have stated, "get-them-off-the-register" or "give-them-something-to-do." The second is to focus on the training of the currently employed, people not yet in the labour market, and the unemployed for the type of employment for which there is a shortage of workers. The third is to focus on the generally accepted prediction that a person will have to change employment and profession several times in their life as a response to the increasing rate of modernisation.[19]

The amount of support given to these approaches seems to vary according to the objective requirements at a given point in time, ie., which is the greater problem--shortage of workers or shortage of jobs, and the subjective considerations, ie., the priorities of those holding power during a given period.

The CISU project was based on the assumption that all three approaches were manifestations of the same long-term trends and thus should not be isolated from each other. This was the first level of our **systems approach**. As a result, the project was designed to assist all types of unemployed and agencies serving them, with a first priority given to dislocated workers, as a response to the funding source.

The second element of the systems approach was to see the need for combining short- and long-term outcomes, of finding employment for those out-of work, while using the experience, networks, and resources to set up a structure capable of responding to the changing nature of "the crises" over the long term. The Communication/Information System for the Unemployed (CISU) was thus a short-term (consumption) and a long-term (capital formation/investment) adult education response to unemployment.

The third element of the systems approach led to involving the **three** levels of adult education: **first**, the education of the **individual**–the unemployed, the under-employed, the employed in danger of becoming obsolescent, along with the service providers; **second**, the education of the **institutions and organisations** at all four levels–the policy makers, the executive officers, the managers, and the line workers involved in dealing with jobs, education, training, and the survival of the unemployed and their families; and **third**, the education of the **community** as to the nature of the "big picture" and the policy options for dealing with it. We thus combined the education of the individual with the **education of institutions and communities**.[20]

The fourth element of the systems approach was to see the four types of outcomes–intervention/behaviours, programmes and projects, policy, and the "big picture"–as inter-related and requiring continuous linkage, inputs, outputs, and feed back, if they were to be reality-based and thus effective. It was clear from our collective experience and from the literature that changes in definition of the "big picture" had policy impacts, which changed programme priorities, which, in turn, were felt on the intervention/behaviour levels. It was also clear that what was learned from individual interventions and behavioural responses from the different types of unemployed and the different types of field workers gave feed back as to the reality base of the "big picture" and the major policies.

The fifth element of the systems approach was taking into account the profound changes in culture, communications, information, and the institutional landscape that had occurred between the 1930s and the 1980s. These changes impacted on all levels and in all areas of activity.

The sixth element of the systems approach was to integrate our knowledge of bureaucratic behaviour into the basic design of the project. There had to be a two-way flow of communications and action. Results of decisions and behaviours had to automatically feed back to those involved. Arenas of decision making had to be available for all participants within the design of the system. If this was done, there would be involvement and participation in planning and strategy design at all levels. The outcome would be both accountability and innovation on a system-wide basis. The result would be a flexible, reality-adjusting, and outcome-committed system, with participating individuals seeing the linkage of all elements.

This six-element system was the essence of adult education, relating what we know to how we act, and back again; attempting to adjust an evolving system, with evolving participants, to the needs of the individual, the institutions/ organisations, and the community. It was not surprising that a system designed for communication/information began to impact on job development, economic development, community development, and human development.

In the remainder of our conclusion, let us see how this experience relates to the major problems identified in the Ward-Forrester chapter. In Southeast Michigan the CISU system, its core coalition, and networks reached out and attracted comprehensive up-to-date information regarding the responses to the unemployment/employment problem, both from a quantitative and qualitative approach. We needed and used the information, and the creators of the information needed and wanted to get it to us. As time went on we created an environment which could use and communicate information from all over the world in

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dealing with general and specific issues. This was clearly manifested in the participant evaluations of the June 13 conference.

The second issue raised in the Ward-Forrester chapter deals with definitions and terminology, particularly "unemployed," "education," and "training," as well as "adult." While CISU may have made little contribution on this issue on the international level, the operational use of these terms in thousands of communications and operations made their meaning fairly clear to the participants and to most of the community at large.

The third set of issues raised in the Ward-Forrester chapter deals with a set of inter-related sub-issues: "lack of coordination between the wide range of initiates....; problems over monitoring and evaluation, and hence, often lack of precise information about outcomes; the need for more discussion about the objectives of particular initiatives, and the policy issues arising from them; and also, questions about the significant involvement –or the lack of it–of unwaged people in developing initiatives and contributing to policy." The CISU structure and its function made these issues operational requirements.

The design of the CISU system, the composition of its coalition, and the nature of its networks, brought all of the differing approaches into contact and often into co-operative relations. Training and education projects were part of one system. Institutional-based and community-based initiatives were present in both the *ALEC* and *Working Channel* activities. All of these relations and the scope of the project made **encapsulation** of the issue nearly impossible without a direct destruction of CISU itself.

A number of questions arise from this conclusion:

> First, is it possible to develop such systems-responses under other conditions with other communications/information/action technologies and in other cultures?
> Second, is this model transferable to other issues, like environment and ecology, multi-ethnic

urbanisation, cultural-civic-scientific literacy, conflict resolution, etc.?

Third, can we have functional education systems for children given the rapidity of change, unless we have a massive education-of-adult-system based on many of the CISU features?

Fourth, what are the conditions necessary for the orderly development and healthy survival of such systems-projects?

References

1. This in effect occurred when conservative political forces successfully recalled two Michigan State Senators, placing the State Senate into Republican Party hands to this day. While a similar recall effort against the Governor was not successful, it did "send a message" to the political community, making clear the political power of the "relatively deprived" taxpayers.
2. The state of Michigan eventually provided $1,912,500 from CISU from the Governor's share of JTPA funds ($587,000 less than the initial commitment). The Wayne Private Industry Council (also JTPA funded) provided $150,000; the Macomb PIC $90,000; the Skillman Foundation $78,000; and the Hudson/Weber Foundation $275,000.
3. The PICs (with 50-percent-plus-one business representation) were responsible for the distribution and monitoring of most of the JTPA funds. This involved them in manpower market and regional economic analysis, judging which combination of projects best served the needs and potential of the region. They also decided on which projects to fund. PIC boundaries were not based on boundaries of functional economic regions, but, rather, political considerations. This created a major need for a variety of comprehensive and cooperative

approaches between PICs within one economic region.

4. See Ward & Forrester, Chapter 2.
5. See Ward & Forrester, Chapter 2.
6. While the CISU project was designed to deal with the ad hoc nature of institutional responses and unemployed needs, it was based on a non-marginalist (expansionist) and integrationist model; see Ward & Forrester, Chapter 2.
7. See Ward & Forrester, Chapter 2; as a matter of fact, it was this four-level coalition concept which was CISU's mechanism for being responsive to community needs, including those which were not too clearly or fully articulated.
8. A micro-wave broadcast technology capable of sending a television signal to the 36 separate local cable companies serving Southeast Michigan.
9. The achievement of these objectives can be traced through a variety of CISU documents: a) The three contracts between CISU and the Governor of Michigan's Office for Job Training (GOJT), which spell out the objectives and aims in great detail; b) The nine quarterly reports from CISU to the GOJT which report in detail and with back-up evidence on the progress on 36 measurable outcomes; c) The reports and minutes of the CISU Executive Committee; d) The reports and minutes of the CISU staff meetings; and e) The training and placement reports to the Michigan Department of Labor.
10. These were jobs in the private sector which had not been created by public funds.
11. It should be noted that over 80 percent of the CISU staff were themselves unemployed when hired.
12. See Ward & Forrester, Chapter 2.
13. See Ward & Forrester, Chapter 2.
14. See Ward & Forrester, Chapter 2; while they mention three levels of outcome, we have added a fourth–"the big picture." This deals with our basic analysis of what the nature of current unemployment is, thus what work and the economy have evolved to in the late 20th Century, and who both workers and the unemployed are. Understanding the nature

of the problem is essential at all levels, from policy-makers to the unemployed.

15. The changing political "needs" of the funders had a major impact on all aspects of the CISU project. Initially the needs were reflected by the contractually-required outcomes of building the communication/information system for the unemployed, but with the passage of time and changing of officials, the state of Michigan also wanted CISU to directly train and place the unemployed, while at the same time cutting the funds allocated for the project.
16. The "menu" process and the models of linking telecommunications to face-to-face services were the most significant inventions of the CISU project. They have implications for all societies where government is involved with meeting public needs.
17. CISU had an extensive and multi-faceted evaluation process whose practice and findings will be described in another book.
18. What happened during the three weeks following the June 13 conference with respect to being de-centralised and self-supporting will also be described in another book.
19. The process of modernisation consists of three elements: industrialisation, urbanisation, and democratisation (popular sovereignty). The CISU project was based on the assumption that the unemployment problems of the 1980s were manifestations of long-term tendencies of the world economy, the accelerated rate of technological and economic change, and the shift in location of supply and demand.
20. Unless all three levels are educated simultaneously, the knowledge lag in one sector will undermine the knowledge advance in the other. The problem of relative deprivation, discussed earlier in this chapter, is but one manifestation of the uneven development.

CHAPTER 6

The REPLAN Programme in England and Wales:

A National Programme to Improve Educational Opportunities for Unemployed Adults

By Paul Fordham

At the time of writing (May 1989), REPLAN was just five years old. Since its inception, its programme of work and the emphases within it have changed quite substantially; as a programme, its main thrust has been to **induce** change in the **existing** system of education and training offered to the adult unemployed. The modest scale has precluded any thought of seeking to establish an independent or substitute system. A short account can therefore only be a snap-shot picture of a rapidly changing scene. It is also one which has a very limited historical frame of reference.

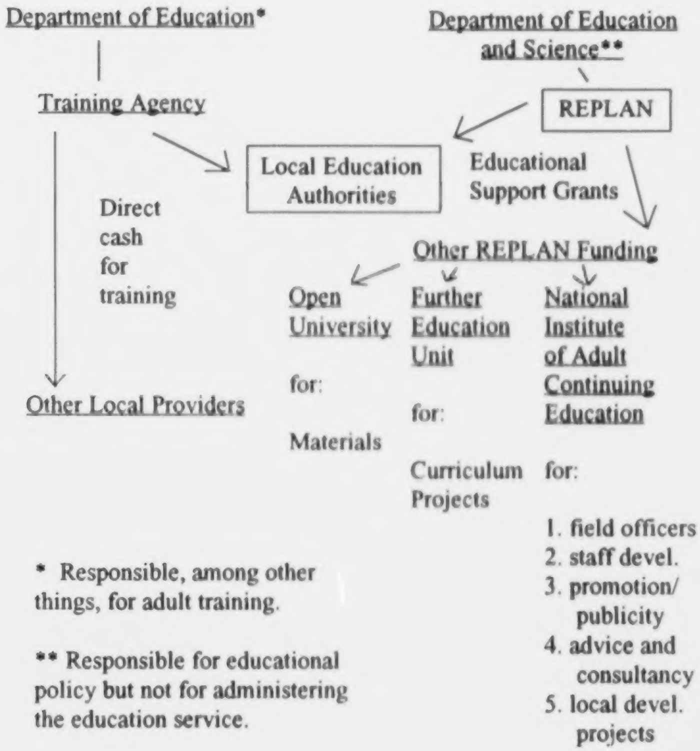
This emphasis on rapid change has been given weight because central government (which provides the funds) is currently conducting "a policy review of the programme and its objectives" and expects to announce "decisions about the future" later in 1989. All that can now be said with certainty is that government believes "REPLAN has been successful in focusing the attention of the education service on the needs of the adult unemployed and is having wider benefits in encouraging new approaches by providers."[1] In its present form, the programme will continue until October 1991.

Organisation and Scale

The origins of REPLAN as an initiative of central government, with its birthplace in the Department of Education and Science (DES), may give the impression that this was an entirely "official" programme staffed by civil servants. This has never been the case. What happened was that a policy framework was established by government with initial advice from an appointed steering committee.[2] Special funds and operational responsibility were then given to three existing adult further education organisations[3] and later to the local education authorities. After the abolition of the steering committee (1986), policy was agreed with the DES through the normal decision- making arrangements of these organisations. This devolution of responsibility meant the creation of an organisation which was both complex and, on first contact, confusing, even though in practice it has worked very well. However, some background information may be helpful in order to place the REPLAN organisation within a national system of training and education which is both divided and (in the case of education) devolved (see figure 1).

Figure 1

Education and Training for the Adult Unemployed
in England and Wales


Department of Education*
Training Agency
Direct cash for training
Other Local Providers
Department of Education and Science**
REPLAN
Local Education Authorities
Educational Support Grants
Other REPLAN Funding
Open University
for:
Materials
Further Education Unit
for:
Curriculum Projects
National Institute of Adult Continuing Education
for:
1. field officers
2. staff devel.
3. promotion/ publicity
4. advice and consultancy
5. local devel. projects

* Responsible, among other things, for adult training.

** Responsible for educational policy but not for administering the education service.

Adult education and training are the responsibility of two separate arms of central government. "Adult Education"–or "adult continuing education" as it is now more frequently labelled–is part of the **education** service (schools, colleges, universities) and the responsibility of the DES, while adult training (defined as exclusively vocational) is the responsibility of the Training Agency–formerly the Manpower Services Commission (MSC); this is part of the Department of Employment. Moreover, these two arms of Government work in very different ways.

The MSC was established in the early 1970s, as a powerful centralising force commanding large resources (Budget £2.362M 1985-86) which are deployed in a wide range of training initiatives directed towards stimulating both employment and employability. The Training Agency does this in the main, though by no means exclusively, by channelling funds to existing educational institutions. The DES, on the other hand, commands relatively few resources of its own. The education service in England and Wales is locally administered and responsibility for what is provided is divided between 104 local education authorities (LEAs). Over the last few years, the DES has attempted to influence policy and provision in these authorities by various short-term funding initiatives: REPLAN is one such initiative, the Education Support Grant (ECG) system is another. The DES budget for REPLAN (1987-88) amounted to £3.5M; a large sum in terms of the direct budget but small in relation to the education budget as a whole (£13.019M), and very small indeed when compared with that of the Training Agency. About 31 percent of the REPLAN budget for 1987-88 was administered by the National Institute of Adult Continuing Education (NIACE); most of the rest went to LEAs as Education Support Grants,[4] with smaller sums to the Further Education Unit (an autonomous body responsible for curriculum projects) and to the Open University (for the production of self instructional materials). The NIACE programme and the work of its field officers as catalysts for change in local provision forms the major part of the REPLAN initiative.

The Employment Background

Tony Uden, the REPLAN Head of Unit, referred in January 1988[5] to the fact that something "new, different, and sometimes unwelcome has been happening in Britain over the last few years." Economic change and changing employment patterns have both accelerated. At the same time there is widespread unease about the ability of the educational system to respond.

Part of the change has been the shift from employment in manufacturing to employment in service industries, from employment in traditional heavy industries like steel and shipbuilding to smaller, lighter, and less labour-intensive ones. There has been a massive increase in part-time jobs even as general unemployment remained high. These long-term trends continue, but they are often more readily apparent, and their impact seems more immediate, to economists, to workers, and to government employment planners than they are to professional educators.

Within the short life span of REPLAN, there have been significant changes in the quantitative if not the qualitative problem. The total number of registered unemployed peaked in early 1986 at some 12.1 percent of the workforce. In spite of much controversy over the way in which figures are produced, there is no doubt that the total of the unemployed workforce is now falling, even though the official count of 8 percent of the workforce may be too low (e.g., ignoring 16- to 17-year-olds and many unwaged work-seeking women) and masks enormous regional differences (15.9 percent on Merseyside; 2.5 percent in West Sussex).

While unemployment in crude statistical terms may be declining, the shifts in unemployment patterns, geographical disparities, and the continuing pace of technological change are all factors which the educators and trainers of adults will have to adapt to for a long time to come. The pace of change "renders skills and therefore job-specific training obsolete very swiftly, and probably more than once during a person's working lifetime; this in itself has enormous implications for the education and training services. If it ever was acceptable merely to train the workforce, and those of us in education do not think it ever was, then that would not be an effective strategy today. A successful and adaptable employee is the one who knows how to learn, is confident of his or her ability to learn and therefore confident of his or her ability to adapt to change, to take on new challenges, to move from one role or activity to another."[6]

In 1983, the then Manpower Service Commission set out its own planning strategy; this assumed both skill shortages and continued unemployment as the basis for planning in the foreseeable future.[7]

In the same paper, the MSC asserted that "the economic, technological, and structural changes are likely to happen unpredictably. Their impact will therefore be different at different times and in different places but the changes will continue and their effects will be pervasive. Thus the need for education and training for any individual will not be once and for all but continuing...people...will need to be adaptable enough to respond to the unpredictable..."

The paper went on to argue that one consequence of this planning assumption is that a "comprehensive strategy should not focus simply on narrowly defined economic objectives. Training and education must equip individuals with general competence and capacity for personal development that will allow them to cope with change. This is essential underpinning for retraining to meet economic objectives. A strategy must provide proper help for unemployed people as well as the employed. They need not only training to help get and keep employment, but also less vocationally specific provision which will stop them becoming unemployable and will further their personal development. A strategic approach must include policies outside the MSC's remit."

It is in this last sense that the role of REPLAN can best be seen to fit in with education and employment strategy as a whole.

It is a strategy where "training" is certainly the dominant feature, but where "education" can also play a significant if minor part. Significant, that is, if only it will address current issues.

Five Components

The REPLAN Programme has five major components:

1. A team of eight regionally based field officers managed by NIACE. A **regional** organisation for adult education and training is an unusual feature of REPLAN. In the English/Welsh educational system, organisation tends either to be local or national. The regional network is thus in itself something of an innovation and already valued by other field staff. The team is responsible for making contact with providers, and potential providers, of education for the adult unemployed, for giving advice, encouragement and support, for disseminating good practice, and for encouraging co-operation, including that between local education authorities and voluntary agencies. The team advises on staff development, organises national and regional conferences, stimulates regional networks, and publishes regional newsletters.

2. The appointment of developmental workers, initially through the ECG programme, with planned later absorption into regular posts. These are at local authority level, and their role is to improve the co-ordination of existing provision and to encourage staff and curriculum development with a view to improving and extending provision. Initial support for these workers was an important function of REPLAN field officers.

3. Staff development courses are conducted regionally and, as experience grows, are an important means of disseminating new ideas and improvement in practice. They have often provided

rare, perhaps unique, opportunities for local government workers and staff/volunteers from voluntary agencies to come together to discuss issues of common concern. This programme is delivered regionally and both field officers and local authority development workers play a key role in this part of the programme. A nationally produced series of training manuals has been prepared and is being disseminated during 1989 through national and regional training conferences.

4. A small programme of local development and curriculum development projects. In the early days of REPLAN (1984-86), these local projects absorbed a much higher proportion of the total budget than at present.

5. The development of independent learning materials suitable for use by unemployed adults.

The Aims of the Programme as a Whole

It may be helpful at this point to reflect briefly on the aims of REPLAN as they were set out by the programme's Steering Committee in early 1984. Remember that this was an official initiative. It could only proceed by establishing consensus about aims and procedures; and it is therefore hardly surprising that the aims which emerged were essentially cautious and begged a number of questions. (The agreed-upon statement appears in the appendix to this chapter.) In the end this turned out to be a strength. Divisive argument was avoided; the paper was never subsequently debated or revised within the original advisory committee, while at the same time a wide range of local initiatives were given enabling money to try out new ideas.

Early Developments (1984-86)

The main focus of REPLAN initially was on projects and, somewhat later, on staff development. There were two reasons for this. Firstly, volunteers and professionals in the field were strongly of the view that ideas could best be generated by active local involvement and funding; secondly, we had to move very fast if anything was to move ahead quickly. With its extensive field network, NIACE could fund projects within three or four months. The lead-in time for staff appointments was inevitably rather longer; and in practice most field officer appointments could not take up their posts until 1985. As Uden records:

> The project programme got people thinking, began to put adult unemployed at the top of at least some people's agendas. The early work did a great deal of needs assessment. Most important I think in the early stages active networks were established in all parts of the country, often through the work of those development workers appointed by local authorities under the ESG programme. This linking of adult, further, and higher education with voluntary organisations, with other agencies working with the unemployed adult and, as we have moved on and become more successful, with policy makers, has given us a framework for consultation and a framework to which to relate the developing ideas of REPLAN. The networking has for example formed the mechanism for the delivery of things like the staff development programme. So the early stages, and they were not without controversy, began to establish in the minds of

> colleagues throughout the country that the adult unemployed formed a significant part of our potential educational audience.[1]

The range of what was done and the great variety of local objectives pursued was a remarkable, and in some ways surprising, feature of what was achieved: remarkable in that an "official" programme turned out to be so imaginative; surprising in that there was little faith (except amongst practitioners) that local projects could generate so many innovative ideas.

In part this may well have been due to the early controversies (which surfaced in the Steering Committee) referred to by Uden. The official view tended to be that a first priority should be to appoint the field staff necessary to deliver a programme. Practitioners (as represented by NIACE) tended to say that once the money was released then local initiative could successfully take over. The NIACE view prevailed in the short term (because of shortage of time); the alternative view, once energetic committed staff were in post, came to be generally accepted during 1985.

In order to make a quick and effective start, NIACE invited existing providers of adult continuing education to make bids against the allocated budget for the first phase of local development projects; this was in May 1984. Projects were to start as soon as possible, with a stress on the following over-arching ideas:

> * There should be a concentration on programme development rather than curriculum development. This was in recognition that many projects would be outside institutions and that a framework of provision would have to be provided as well as the educational curriculum itself.
>
> * There was emphasis on contact networks with "the idea of outreach as an important component."

> * Guidance and counselling were seen as likely intrinsic features.
> * The over-riding concern was "that projects should be of clear benefit to participation groups and individuals."

Within these over-arching ideas the following **criteria** were specified:

> * The project had to be educational in its main focus.
> * It had to be local rather than national.
> * It had to be a local adoption, elaboration, or original attempt to try out new ideas.
> * It had to embody provision new to the area.
> * It had to provide for critical monitoring.
> * It had to demonstrate potential for continuity.
> * It had to include operational collaboration between a variety of agencies.'

In practice, the NIACE Projects Committee developed its own additional criteria. Within an overall concern for quality and probable viability, we gave preference to voluntary agencies, disadvantaged groups (e.g., ethnic minorities, long-term unemployed), women's projects, rural areas (partly because there were few good proposals in this category), and areas of high unemployment. And we had to try and achieve a balance not only between target groups but also between regions. Inevitably, given the rushed nature of the programme (we had to commit most of the first year's funding between June and September 1984), some mistakes were made and some imbalances remained (e.g., universities and some LEAs were quicker to write up their proposals than most voluntary bodies), but there was certainly considerable variety, as noted by this observer:

> Funding has been granted to a wide range of

> agencies...[This], embodying an even broader spectrum of educational approach, student group, purpose and net outcome is one of the strengths of the projects programme. It provides tangible evidence of the potential for exciting and widely varied provision as well as that for cooperation between providers, to build up a service that is relevant, interesting, and attractive. Together, project sponsors shared a number of key concerns–for improved quality, for greater access, for more student involvement in designing provision and greater respect for adult learning needs and preferences and for an increase in the capacity of the educational service to create beneficial change ....[10]

Projects addressed a wide range of issues including:

> Target groups: run-down inner city areas, rural communities, black groups ...;
> Styles: open learning, neighbourhood self-management, incidental learning ...;
> Curriculum: non-traditional content, a mix of vocational and non-vocational courses, student designed programmes and courses ...;
> Structure: collaborative partnerships between providers, use of volunteers, essential support services (creches, counselling assistance etc), outreach techniques and approaches ...;

A Selection of Completed Projects

The second phase projects programme is the subject of a thorough and separate evaluation.[11] All that is attempted here is to give the varied flavour from a brief taste of a few projects from the first phase programme (which totalled 46 projects).

Shropshire County Council had already established a resource centre for basic education (including literacy, numeracy, and computer skills). A small grant (£6,000) was requested to improve the facilities of the existing centre and to develop more self-instructional resources. Professional and volunteer staff were already available on a modest basis.

The Project raised a number of important issues which others needed to note. In an unpublished report to REPLAN, the project stated that "there was difficulty in defining who was 'unemployed'; students in need of basic education are often in and out of casual employment and it was therefore impossible to make any distinction between 'employed' and 'unemployed' people; the idea of 'self-instruction' for this level of student proved less satisfactory than the more traditional one to one tuition by volunteer."

On reflection, we should now rate this as one of our least successful ventures--not because the work done was not good, but because it would probably have happened without REPLAN intervention.

2. **Clapham-Battersea Adult Education Institute** in London had an even smaller grant (£4,000), but the results were considerably greater than might have been expected. The aim was to offer sports coaching award courses to the unemployed (concentrating on black and female students), to enable them to acquire the qualifications needed for part-time coaching jobs. Courses included soccer, weight-training, life-saving (swimming), swimming, and women's self-defence. In its own unpublished report to REPLAN, the project reported that although "the project had 'vocational' aims...it is primarily concerned with educational goals. Its success lies in the fact that the courses are concrete, short term, certificated, and local. An aim of the project

remains the development of students' confidence so that they might make use of the network of more substantially certificated coaching awards in London....

"Two strengths of the Project in our judgement are its success in recruiting black Londoners and in committing more than 50 percent of the resources to women's sports education (an area in which women have been traditionally under-represented). Most of those students who passed their course examinations have found work of one kind of another."

One noteworthy thing is that the courses successfully combined personal satisfaction with career opportunity. And they demonstrated in a small way the nonsense of Britain's planning arrangements which assume that "vocational" and "non-vocational" (or "education" and "training") are really separable in practice.

3. **The Southampton University/Hampshire LEA Project** was a more substantial affair than the other two, with a budget of £20,000+. In this, it was more typical of the programme as a whole. Rennie Johnston, who was the Project's only full-time professional worker, writes:

> The Southampton project was an action-research project with an emphasis on the action generated by the project being continued after its funding life. It was successful in establishing a learning base for unwaged adults in the west of Southampton as well as in initiating a variety of local groups, projects, and courses geared to the needs of unwaged adults. Almost all of these initiatives are continuing beyond the life of the project with the support of the University, the LEA, or other agencies, and the project was instrumental in gaining further funds from Hampshire to start up similar initiatives in other parts of Southampton.

As a result of the project's experience, the following general lessons have been learned:

Outreach Work: There is now a much clearer understanding of outreach and its central place in **curriculum development with unemployed adults**. Initial contact is mostly with individuals, and there needs to be a clear and understood educational starting point. An open-ended or ill-defined approach will confuse people. Outreach workers need to be equipped with a wide range of information, ideas, and contacts and they need time, support, and training to work effectively.

Educational Guidance: The project illustrated that formal guidelines and information is unlikely to be as effective with unwaged people as guidance as an integral part of wider provision, offered on a low key basis with well-researched information, materials, and back-up.

A Learning Base for Unwaged Adults: The project's learning exchange base was able to use people's talents and skills, and helped enhance confidence and esteem. Such a base must have good resources and a good organisational structure and educational guidance facilities. It needs clear learning objectives; it is not a drop-in centre. A creche will help ensure equal access. It will be used by adults with special learning needs which need to be recognised and taken into account. Its most useful function is as a student-centred **staging-post** to further educational and other opportunities.

Working Participatively: The project reflected on ways of involving unwaged adults as partners. It showed that participation can take place at different levels. Many people see par-

> ticipation in the organisation and running of the project as immaterial or difficult. Organised participative meetings were only relevant and attractive to some people. Direct participation in raising and spending money, for example, was more effective participation and more amenable to many unwaged adults.
>
> The participative nature of the research elements in the project were very important. It helped de-mystify 'research' and showed the practical nature of the research–to improve educational opportunities for unwaged adults. In doing so it assisted in dispelling the threatening and hierarchical image of research. Project reports were improved through participation and discussion at the drafting stage.[12]

The Conceptual Framework

Not only was REPLAN stimulating thought and practice at the local level, but by the middle of 1985 policy was also now being influenced by professionals who: (a) had been recruited as field officers; and (b) had undertaken projects or consultancies on behalf of the programme. A very important and influential contribution to thinking within REPLAN came from a study, commissioned by the FEU, to develop ideas about the curriculum for the adult unemployed.[13] Within the framework developed in this study, education was seen as having the potential to assist unemployed adults in five main ways:

> **Employability**–to help unemployed people develop knowledge, skills, and attitudes which

will increase their chances of finding and keeping a job.

Coping–to help unemployed people develop knowledge, skills, and attitudes which will help them to cope with being unemployed.

Context–to help unemployed people to understand the extent to which the responsibility for being unemployed lies with society rather than the individual, and to explore possible forms of social, political, and community action related to unemployment.

Leisure–to help unemployed people develop skills and attitudes which will help them to make good use of their increased 'leisure' time.

Opportunity Creation–to help unemployed people develop knowledge, skills, and attitudes which will enable them to create their own ways of living and earning.

The establishment of this conceptual framework and its widespread use in the field served to throw into sharp focus the barriers that existed for unemployed people wishing to take up learning opportunities. This was one of the reasons which led in 1986 to a policy decision that the focus of REPLAN activity should move away from projects and the search for innovative curricula, towards the identification and promotion of strategies for change, including structural change in the ways through which the education service could be more useful to the unemployed. We had to modify existing practice and make better use of existing resources. The main task of REPLAN now became one of locating good work, and promoting and disseminating it via publications, audio-visual material, and through staff development opportunities delivered through the networks that had been established at local level.

A Developing Strategy for Change (1986-89)

As successful provision and practice were located, field officers began to define what they perceived as the necessary conditions for good work. These included:

> * A policy of remitting fees coupled with arrangements for financing use of books and equipment.
>
> * An effective communication system between a multiplicity of state funded and voluntary providers in order that unemployed adults have access at all levels and that clear progression routes are available.
>
> * A flexible format for provision in relation to start dates, timing, and location, accompanied by child care, appropriate accreditation, acknowledgement of prior learning and modularisation.
>
> * A commitment to making learning opportunities available to people leading to adoption of outreach marketing policies, i.e., exhibitions, open-days, market stalls, local radio and t.v. advertising, community based outreach, and effective guidance and counselling.
>
> * A commitment to making provisions suitable for adults in that it is student-centred, negotiated, and takes cognizance of prior learning.

The refocusing of REPLAN activity towards locating and promoting good work required clarification of the criteria for success. Agreement was reached that the overriding criterion for success was related to learning opportunities with demonstrable and tangible outcomes--opportunities which enabled unemployed people to deploy the benefits of their learning in some practical sense which enhances their life chances.

A Strategy for Change (1986-89)

The REPLAN team--and its guiding committee--were now clear that the whole emphasis and focus of REPLAN should move towards the identification of a strategy for change: to encourage a flexible educational response to what are often bewildering changes in the economy and in society. Many in the education system still cling in practice to the idea of once for all access, a once for all process of learning, and pay only lip service to **systematic** lifelong education or **recurrent** education. It was probably always true that flexibility, curiosity, openness, and a willingness to go on learning were more important than specialist knowledge per se; but it did not always seem so. An earlier generation of young people could hope to aspire to become "educated" and to secure regular, sustained employment. Today's temporary employee (and who is not?) has to remain throughout life an educable person; a finished education is simply not possible. Current higher education practice still fails to encourage that idea. Initial education becomes more and more specialist, while continuing education is a good thing either as long as someone else does it or it can be seen to make a profit; that is true even though we all know that, because of changing work patterns and the obsolescence of knowledge, initial education can never be enough.

The strategy for change as it has worked in practice is now well documented. For example,[14] case studies of two contrasting local education authorities show how change was initiated by REPLAN field officers and embedded in the work of two outer London boroughs (Brent and Bexley). In another study, a selection of Education Support Grant projects is used to illustrate how short term funding can effect "enduring improvements."[15] Interestingly and significantly, there is an important difference in the perceptions emerging from the 1987 and 1988 studies. The former is concerned solely with REPLAN as it then was; the latter is also looking to a possible future. The link is firmly being made, both in practice and promotion, between a short-life catalyst and long-term changes in policy and practice.

The 1987 study argues that what "these projects have succeeded in doing is selling to their LEAs, in differing ways and through different strategies, the notion that education should be made available to unemployed adults and that it should be made available in such a client-centred way that people can use it to serve their own ends and improve their own lives."

And, in relation to the two case studies, it is important to note a continuing feature of Britain's devolved educational system: very different starting points on the ground for a central and national initiative.

"In one authority, an open access policy was already theoretically in place. Fees were remitted, provision plentiful, and unemployed people were on the political agendas. However, the barriers to their actual use of education as detailed in the study were very real indeed.

"Political commitment alone was clearly not the answer. Here the task of REPLAN was to create an orderly, comprehensible offer out of the welter of well-intended provision."[16]

The tactic chosen was to establish a network organisation, Brent Information and Learning Links (BRILL), which brought together for the first time "a plethora of adult education providers each working in isolation and having minimal perceptions about the particular needs of unemployed adults."[17] Initiated at a conference attended by over 60 participants, BRILL then established three-monthly meetings and worked to improve access, guidance, and improved information for both adult learners and professionals. Above all, it began to change the nature of educational provision within existing institutions so that the needs of non-traditional learners could be met. For example, each Further Education College has a lecturer responsible for the development of access courses and most colleges offer courses for the unemployed which allow them to continue in regular study without being officially deemed "full-time" students and therefore no longer registered as unemployed (the so-called "21 hour rule"). In the other authority "unemployment was not seen as an issue. Fee remission was minimal, provision pathetically scarce and the unemployed were invisible. The task of REPLAN was to get the show on the road."[8]

From a situation where, (a) few education professionals were aware of the existence of serious pockets of unemployment in the area, and (b) where even fewer unemployed adults attended what seemed to them irrelevant programmes, the numbers attending began to grow. By the end of the second year, between 140 and 150 unemployed students per week were attending the local F. E. College.

Success in acting as a catalyst at local level now began to affect the central planning and policy-making processes within the REPLAN organisation. Ideas came up through the field officer team and were discussed in the Management Liaison Group (which included the FEU component of REPLAN and the DES). These ideas began to coalesce into draft strategy documents, and were further refined in discussion within the NIACE/REPLAN Sub-Committee. For the first time since 1984, there was even (during 1987-78) a newly-found confidence which enabled a second look at the original programme aims.

In 1984, the aims had been cautious, general, and drafted by officials (as noted previously); by 1987-78 they had become much more specific. Within the general aim of improving, increasing, and extending educational opportunities for unemployed adults, the following five specific objectives were identified:

- Working to remove barriers to their access to educational opportunities;
- Locating, supporting, and promoting develop-

ments at the forefront of this work which can offer relevant provision to unemployed people;
* Encouraging co-operation and collaboration, particularly in order to create improved progression routes: (a) within educational institutions; (b) between educational institutions; (c) between educational and other agencies and across administrative boundaries;
* Promoting awareness among providers of the prime importance of practical outcomes for the student as the measure of success of educational programmes for unemployed adults;
* Working to ensure that where improvements in educational opportunities for unemployed adults are made they become a permanent and integrated part of educational programmes and policies.[19]

With an Eye to the Future

With an eye to the future--even beyond the current extension date of 1991--the work of the REPLAN field officers now began to focus on the last two objectives (promoting awareness and ensuring the permanence of improvements), leaving much of the furtherance of other objectives to recently-appointed staff in the local education authorities who had been supported on appointment by REPLAN as a whole (i.e., the ESG development workers).

Two examples of the new strategy, which also give some pointers to a possible future, are the contributions to the Training Agency's "Employment Training" programme and the dissemination of REPLAN's staff development materials. The former has concentrated on eliciting a "quality response" from local colleges in support of employment training. In this case REPLAN has responded to new training initiatives by trying to ensure the best possible **educational** practice in their implementation.[20]

The dissemination of the nationally-produced training materials takes REPLAN beyond the horizon of the unemployed per se and into the new kinds of "client groups" expected by local colleges in the 1990s. In its pamphlet *New Client Groups in Post School Education* (1989), the Further Education Unit speaks of the adult unemployed in the wider context of a looming shortage of young adequately-trained workers. By the mid-1990s this shortage will have created major shifts in the U.K. labour market. Adult continuing education will not only have to redouble its efforts to re-educate and re-train the adult unemployed, but will also have to increase access for groups so far considered marginal to the education and training system. Under-educated school leavers, those with redundant skills, women with family responsibilities who need child-care facilities–indeed all of the under-employed as well as the formally un-employed–will need to be encourage back to education. What was once the dream of the adult educators now becomes in addition a necessity for the changing labour market.

There is a new mood in REPLAN. Acting as a catalyst for change in relation to large scale unemployment gives confidence that the organisation and underpinning ideas can also be used in quite different labour market circumstances. The adult unemployed will certainly need re-education and training. Workers made redundant in one capacity will continue to need rapid reorientation to another. But REPLAN may also provide a model for the future in other specific areas where change may be needed. For example, questions both of responding to the labour market as well as removing barriers to access now loom much larger in the planning horizons of educators. What started as an experimental policy thrust by central government has been transformed by professionals and field workers into a possible new mode of operation for adult continuing education as a whole.

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Appendix

Aims and Objectives of REPLAN as Approved by the DES Appointed Steering Committee in 1984

Aims and Objectives:
1. This paper identifies the general objectives of educational provision for the unemployed, explores, in general terms, the aims and discusses what area it might particularly focus on.

Aims of Provision:
2. Educational provision may be of value to the unemployed in a wide range of ways. These may be categorised into four main groups: i) Augmenting general skills at all levels in ways which may help improve employability and be useful in everyday activities (examples include communication skills, numeracy, and new technology); ii) Improving employability more particularly –either by training in entirely new vocational skills or by the further development or adaptation of existing skills and also by giving help and advice with techniques of job-hunting–where to look, writing applications, interview techniques, etc; iii) Enabling the unemployed, through self-evaluation, to understand changed circumstances, and to adjust accordingly–claiming benefit, budgeting on less money, new sources of income, do it yourself, budget

cookery, health on the dole, etc; and iv) Personal development - -intellectual, creative, or physical.

3. In addition, there are a number of aims which either underlie all the provision or are supplementary to the above: i) Building or rebuilding confidence and self-respect; ii) Providing social contact and support for otherwise isolated people; iii) Helping individuals to take stock of their situation and form a realistic view of the options open to them; iv) Equipping them to go on to further study; v) Enabling them to attain new qualifications; vi) Encouraging a constructive and active use of enforced leisure time to permit them to continue to make a positive contribution to the household; and vii) Giving help and advice with techniques of job-hunting--where to look, writing applications, interview techniques, etc.

4. It should be noted that different participants may have different motives and different perceptions of the value of any provision, that these may be different again from those of the provider, and that some elements of value may result from a course of activity without being perceived by the participant.

Aims of the Programme:

5. The general aim of the programme is to encourage the development of the best possible educational provision for unemployed adults within the current financial constraints on the providers.

6. In furtherance of that general aim, the programme is likely to include activity in the following areas: i) Collection and consideration of information about numbers and characteristics of the adult unemployed, their educational needs, and the educational provision already made for them; ii) Identification and promotion of the key elements of successful practice in all aspects of the provision including outreach, content, mode of delivery, financial arrangements, general approach, etc; iii) Identification of barriers and inhibitory factors to best possible practice; iv) Dissemination

of information and guidance on good and successful practice and advice on removal or reduction of barriers (so far as this is possible); and v) Monitoring and evaluation of the programme and, so far as is practicable, the provision.

Focus of the Programme:
7. The range covered by the programme is likely to be both wide and heterogeneous. First, there is the question of age. In general terms, the programme will not be primarily concerned with those under 19 or with those over 60.

8. Secondly, the programme will not adopt a narrow definition of "unemployed" which restricts its activities to those registered and receiving benefit, but will address itself to the needs of those who are not earning and who are seeking employment.

9. Thirdly, there is the question of academic level. While the programme will concentrate particularly on the middle ground between basic and higher education, links will also be established with providers of elementary education (e.g., Adult Literacy and Basic Skills Unit and the like). It will, in addition, be concerned with the issue of access for the unemployed to (existing) courses of higher education. The programme will thus aim to ensure that the entire spectrum is covered in one way or another and that no-one falls through the gaps between individual schemes, which cater for the unemployed.

10. There is, in practice, little to be gained in attempting to draw a clear dividing line between vocational education and vocational training at one end of the spectrum, or between general education and recreation at the other.

CHAPTER 7

Open College Networks and Unwaged People

By David Browning

Open College Networks (OCN), using processes of accreditation as their principal approach, originated in Manchester, United Kingdom, in 1981. It is entirely significant that this was an initiative of a Local Education Authority (LEA), that it occurred during a period of rapidly rising unemployment, and that the OCNs are now increasingly seen as part of a strategic response to the need for appropriate educational provision for unwaged and other disadvantaged people, and particularly (at the time of writing–November 1989) in the face of radical constraints in the U.K. upon LEAs' strategic capacities by the 1988 Education Reform Act (ERA).[1]

The significance of these factors is critical in the context of and for the purpose of this chapter, which is not to predicate the usefulness of OCNs upon the existence of high unemployment, nor even on appropriate provision for those disadvantaged at such times. The fact remains, however, that the creation of Manchester Open College Federation (MOCF) was at a time when Manchester City Council was seeking to establish wider and more appropriate educational provision for a city that was bearing the brunt of the de-industrialisation of Northern Britain.[2] The now-defunct Greater Manchester Council (GMC)[3] was also a leader in building regional responses, and some of its European Social Fund (ESF) allocations were used to establish MOCF, particularly in the field of adult basic education.

In essence, we have here local and regional responses. We also have a particular crisis–rising mass unemployment–engendering radical equal opportunities-based initiatives; and in turn those initiatives leading to more appropriate provision for all people–not just those who found themselves in that crisis without paid work or useful activity. This does not mean that those policies, or OCNs, are blind to the needs of people who are unemployed or unwaged; merely that in catering specifically for their needs, we have been better able to respond to other people's needs. The distinctions, made elsewhere in this volume, between people who are unemployed, unwaged, and unpaid will be important to hold in mind throughout this chapter. Suffice it to say at this stage, however, that nothing is gained within the framework provided by OCNs by reference to the unemployed. Part of the essence of the OCN framework will be seen to be the disaggregation of such monolithic concepts as a means whereby we may be better able to consider, analyse, and serve the particular needs of particular people and neighbourhoods.

(The **fact** of unemployment does not of itself enable analysis of need; a range of needs exist **within** groupings of those who may be defined as, or consider themselves to be, unemployed or unwaged. Indeed, it may be best to forget entirely that people are unemployed by whatever definition, if we are to manage most skillfully the issues presented by this phenomenon. More of that later.)

There are two notions of strategic activity which seem important for this discussion. First, in the specific context of education and training provision; second, in the wider context of Local Authority responsibilities. In the first, OCNs enable particular provision for groups such as unemployed and unwaged people to be placed in a context of overall provision, and indeed linked with that–perhaps making more sense of both. In the second, training and education strategies are placed alongside others in supportive and enabling functions; here OCNs can play critical evaluative roles underpinning strategic intentions with client-focussed design, assessment, and quality-assurance mechanisms.

These are major claims to make for what may seem to be recent development. This chapter sets out to substantiate these claims by offering: an historical review of OCN developments in the U.K.; a detailed description of their workings; an appraisal of their effectiveness in the context of specific provisions, using those for unwaged people as exemplars; and a concluding analysis which will attempt to place OCN processes in the wider context of progressive education and training provision in the U.K. towards the close of the 20th Century. That this analysis is proffered at a time when ideas of access to education are widely popular and the extent and nature of unemployment is itself under-going radical change, will be seen to increase the significance of the real and potential contributions of OCNs.

The Beginnings and the History of Open College Networks

The Education Committee of Manchester City Council agreed on December 1, 1981, to the establishment of MOCF, adding the important codicil to its resolution that this "should be at no additional cost to the Authority." This apparently cautious decision, at a time when the City Council's education budget was being reduced by one-third[4] signalled a courageous step in a direction which has since been proven to be of enormous significance for local government in England and Wales.

Importantly, the decision was also the climax of a period of discussion and negotiation between the various segments of educational provision in the City of Manchester. The details of this period, and some of the processes of negotiation, are dealt with elsewhere.[5] What is important here is that from the start MOCF was a collaborative enterprise, bringing all sectors of education and training provision together; that it was negotiated towards common ends and within a common framework; and that ideas of credit accumulation, modularisation, transferability, rigour, flexibility, and–perhaps above all–student progress, were at the forefront of people's minds as discussions continued.

The result was an Open College framework more radical in its implications than MOCF's only predecessor in name, the Open College Federation of the North West, which some years before had creatively sponsored alternatives to the orthodox qualifications of "O" and "A" levels, specifically intended for mature adult students. (MOCF has also had more far-reaching effects than the recently-floated and increasingly floundering Open College[6] sponsored by Central Government which began life as the Open College of the Air, and from which Open College Networks, long founded before their name was taken, should be distinguished. In effect, the Open College sought to expand availability and accessibility of vocational training by materials-based, TV-centred, distance learning. In this field, it has perhaps only been successful in selling packs of learning materials; hardly an innovation.)

At the inception of MOCF, the intentions were profound indeed. Vast tracts of people's learning, never before properly acknowledged in the U.K., were to become potentially so in a systematic manner which, at the same time, could relate its significance to other more formally recognised learning activities. Examples now abound, and these will be developed as case studies later. But here we can establish the principles which lay behind these new moves: That people learn all the time is a prosaic truism; that we are nevertheless most impressed by learning which is accredited in some way, certified formally, is a cliche of our society resisted only by those who, having themselves gained formal awards, see informal learning as so precious that it would be disturbed, indeed contradicted' by anything like accreditation. MOCF set out to square that admittedly difficult circle–how to acknowledge with rigour adult learning which demands great care and sensitivity in its negotiation and delivery?

For MOCF, this was achieved by looking first to tutors and organisers of learning for the essential parameters within which accreditation was to take place. The accreditation framework itself was established with heavy reliance upon people in the field. There was to be an identical "unit of credit" which would operate across several levels or stages of learning and achievement; the levels would incorporate the full range of continuing education provision up to undergraduate study; basic education, or survival skills in basic communications, would provide an essential basis from which progress could be made. Wide discussions would provide similar agreements as to where particular skills and understandings at different levels would meet, merge, and progress. So another essential value was the critical involvement of professional staff making professional judgements in concert. This process is best exemplified by the work which colleagues in Greater Manchester and Cheshire have achieved in the accreditation of basic communication skills–the foundation skills for all other learning and development activities. Similar pioneering work has been achieved in the field of art, craft, and design activities. In both of these areas, people's achievements have been acknowledged for the very first time, without any undue disturbance to the process or the preciousness of the learning. Indeed, it has been acknowledged that in the latter area of work, student progress is clearly discernible where previously there had been little or none.[6]

These early developments in Manchester were followed in the mid-1980s by similar moves in West Yorkshire, Merseyside, and South Yorkshire. In turn, the creation of Open Colleges with similar frameworks of credits and levels led to the credit transfer agreements between the different regions in the North of England, covering work in more than 30 LEAs. Parallel developments in London had led in the early 1980s to the creation of wide networks under the auspices of Open Colleges linking adult, further, and higher education and educational guidance services for adults. Charged with widening access for non-traditional students, they brought to the traditions of Open Colleges the fostering of positive collaborative processes between institutions in order to create strategic developments across the capital, four OCNs themselves being linked by an Inner London Coordinating Committee. London OCNs were also active leaders in the field for the creation of what could be called the access movement in the U.K. This had its origins in so-called "Access to Higher Education Courses," or access courses as they were familiarly known, and Open Colleges were among the first groups to systematise approaches to these attempts to "fast-stream" experienced adults into higher education degree courses. They were often linked to study skills and return-to-study courses, which had become popular all across the country, and in London there were positive links with the Polytechnics, in particular, which actually guaranteed entry to mature students into their intended degree courses and involved co-teaching arrangements between further, adult, and higher education staffs.[7]

As the northern developments centred upon accreditation services gained pace, London Open Colleges, in consultation with Her Majesty's Inspectorate, determined to follow that lead and extend their work into the accreditation field. This was a particular emphasis which was to gain a great imperative as the Inner London Education Authority (ILEA) was itself threatened with extinction in the same way and for similar political reasons and reasonings as the metropolitan County Authorities before them.

A group of colleagues from each of these active and emerging Open Colleges met in 1986 to form the National Open College Network (NOCN). This new body sought to provide mutual support for new initiatives in other parts of the country, to campaign politically for wider interest in their activities, and to raise the profile generally of OCNs nationally.

In 1987, the Unit for the Development of Adult Continuing Education (UDACE) began nationwide consultations on access themes prior to the establishment of its Access Development Group. Two principal issues emerged from these discussions which dramatically affected the continuing developments of OCNs. First, that by "access," people involved in continuing education meant more than just access to higher education; which was seen as an important, though by no means necessary, conclusion to developments which were designed to secure the progress of mature students. Access was (in distinction) seen as a process whereby people at any stage of development were enabled to move from where they were to where they may be realizing they wanted to be. (Here we may point to the growing realisation that for unwaged people something more than a possibly far-off horizon of a degree course was needed in order to address their concerns and to realise possible progress routes.)

Second, that Open College-type developments, particularly their accreditation potential, were regularly referred to in the consultations. These were given close attention by the UDACE Development Group as it began its work in late 1987, and the first publication to come from that group's work[10] pointed to the potential usefulness of Open College accreditation as a means of widening access and enabling ideas of access to have meaning at many levels and stages of learning.

A presentation to the Development Group on the workings and implications of Open College accreditation processes led to an agreement that there should be a project on this theme as part of UDACE's national activities. Discussions with the Manchester

Open College Federation and the Manchester Education Committee resulted in agreement that such a project be managed from Manchester, with staff released to that end.[11]

The project began on April 1, 1988, with a statement of its objectives (see Figure 1) and commenced a review of existing and new OCN developments in England and Wales. During this initial period, sufficient confidence was expressed in the results of the project and in the content of wider access issues to persuade the Government's Department of Education and Science to allocate specific funding to it. This also lead to the appointment of a further project officer, Caroline Mager, formerly of South Yorkshire Open College Federation, for a period of eighteen months until July 1990.

This project, at the time of writing, was three-quarters through its time, and had revealed and encouraged the extension of the ideas originating in Manchester in 1981. Its first publication on current developments and practices in Open Colleges[12] confirmed active OCNs operating within 40 local authority administrative areas (though these served marginal interests in other LEAs) and principled discussions concerned with developments towards Open College type activities within a further 35 LEAs.[13]

In terms of the principle focus of this volume, it is interesting to note that there is growing attention from the vocational and employment fields. A key supporter of Open College accreditation activities and developments has been the REPLAN team of field officers in England and Wales. British Petroleum, itself a leading activist in the access field with a budget in 1988 of £7 million devoted to encouraging projects to increase the flow of scientists into higher and further education, has sponsored a staff development process within the framework of the UDACE project. This brings together all Open College staffs in England and Wales for residential work to plan and study the issues and developments needed to build national credibility.[14]

Figure 1

Objectives of the UDACE Open College Networks Projects

Working in collaboration with the other UDACE access work, and similar work with other agencies, the project will seek:

- to raise awareness and understanding of accreditation-based Open College Networks;
- to provide consultancy and collaborative training and development to committed and interested groups;
- to disseminate ideas and information from developing Networks'
- to produce written materials, in the form of information sheets, booklets, etc., to support the development of the Networks;
- to investigate the need for and the role of a national structure for Open College development.

The Royal Society of Arts (RSA), itself a major vocational accreditation body, organises a campaign called "Industry Matters," sponsored by the U.K.'s Training Agency and the National Council for Vocational Qualifications (NCVQ), among others. This campaign has agreed to facilitate a seminar for Open Colleges to meet with prominent industrialists and business people in 1990.

Finally, the National Open College Network is close to agreement upon a national framework for credits and levels which will in 1990 lead to the inauguration of a national credit-transfer mechanism between all Open Colleges in the different regions. They will have common levels and credits and a national Credit Record–while maintaining colleges' own local autonomy –will combine local accessibility with national credibility.

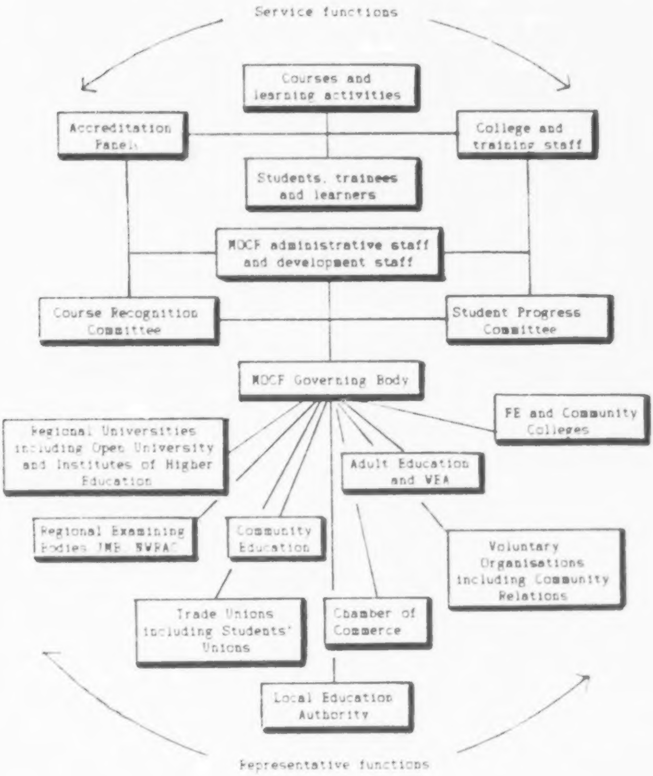
This historical review of OCN developments would be incomplete without reference to international links, connections, and possibilities. The origins of Manchester Open College Federation come directly from North American practice in "community colleges" and their long tradition of credit accumulation and transfer. MOCF's first development worker, Aubrey Black, the principal architect of Manchester's innovation,[15] studied American work in this area directly in 1980. It would be interesting, almost a decade later, to compare and contrast U.K. experience and achievement. Wider European contacts have been established in Finland, Belgium, France, and the Republic of Ireland, where passport schemes or interest in credit accumulation has been sparked and is growing. It will be important to build on these small beginnings if the challenges of vocational education and training by 1992 are not to by-pass the achievements of informal and alternative accreditation procedures now well-established in the U.K.[16]

The Nature and Structure of Open College Accreditation Procedures

A detailed description of the nature and structure of Open College accreditation procedures is important in order to establish the unique processes which are becoming widespread and which embrace so much prior good practice established in community, further, basic, and adult education. The description which follows draws heavily upon the recent UDACE publication on OCNs.[17]

Figure 2

Structural Outline of Representation and Service Functions of a Typical Open College Federation Showing the Range of Organisations Involved and in Membership


Service functions
Courses and learning activities
Accreditation Panels
College and training staff
Students, trainees and learners
MOCF administrative staff and development staff
Course Recognition Committee
Student Progress Committee
MOCF Governing Body
FE and Community Colleges
Regional Universities including Open University and Institutes of Higher Education
Adult Education and WEA
Regional Examining Bodies JMB, NWRAC
Community Education
Voluntary Organisations including Community Relations
Trade Unions including Students' Unions
Chamber of Commerce
Local Education Authority
Representative functions

OCNs are federations involving wide spectra of education and training providers. Figure 2 lays out the range of organisations which are likely to be involved either in a representative capacity or more often than not as an active participant making provision and seeking accreditation services. The broad aims of Open Colleges are laid out in Figure 3, and in this context it is important to emphasize the commitment to equal opportunities and justice in education which these aims imply. OCNs have a particular concern to enhance the education and training opportunities available to people who have not had access to appropriate provision in the past.

Figure 3

Typical Aims of an Open College Federation

Open College Networks and Federations share the following aims:

* to improve the quality of available provision;
* to facilitate access, and in particular, progression through existing and new provisions;
* to encourage change within organisations in the interest of learners;
* to improve the flexibility of available learning opportunities.

The accreditation system is the mechanism used by OCNs to achieve these particular aims, and accreditation is defined as the process by which courses and learning activities are recognised and learners awarded credits for their achievements. It has been estimated that at least 80 percent of learning does not lead to any recognised award, qualification, or certificate of achievement.[18] It is therefore difficult for many people to build progressively upon their learning; routes of progression are invisible or hard to identify, and no evidence is available for use in applying for further education or training. This is, on the face of it, a predicament more likely to affect unwaged people, and perhaps long-term unemployed people, than other sections of the community. This is not to deny the personal development and satisfaction that such learning provides, but to acknowledge that much of the learning which people undertake does not get the recognition it merits. It is a commonplace realisation of workers with groups of unemployed people that confidence is well-built within the activities and settings of successful and campaigning groups, but that this may not be so easy to convey to prospective employers by any evidence of achievement and learning.

An accreditation system can make these achievements and progression routes more visible and explicit, and the gaps more obvious–thus facilitating more awareness of needs and planning information. Open College accreditation processes promote responsiveness to learner needs–they do not prescribe forms of assessment or modes of delivery, but focus on the appropriateness of the process and the outcomes of learning for particular target groups. The system which has evolved relies essentially on the professional expertise of tutors and trainers skilled in their own areas, placed within peer group collaboration and review procedures.

In summary, OCNs: recognise course designs and learning activities; and award credits for people's achievements on those learning activities. Learning is accredited within a framework of levels and credits. The levels denote the various stages of the learning and the degree of independence of learning. The credits express the volume or the value of the learning programme. OCNs generally offer four levels from basic communications skills at level one to access to higher education at level four (see Figure 4). Credits are based on blocks of national study time of 30 hours, reflecting and complementing other accreditation systems nationally.

Figure 4

Example of Open College Federation Definitions of Levels

Level 1 is a foundation level for skills necessary in everyday life –reading, writing, speaking, numeracy, and practical and coping skills.

Level 2 builds on existing skills or introduces a range of new foundation skills and subjects--for example, craft and artistic skills, learning-to-learn skills, language and math, including community or group skills.

Level 3 enables participants to acquire or develop basic concepts and principles of enquiry in chosen areas of study. It also enables them to achieve functional competence in skill areas such as languages, math, creative and interpretive arts, including applications in community-based work.

Level 4 enables participants to develop the capacity for sustained study using critical and evaluative skills and understanding. Study at this level may prepare for entry to Polytechnic or University or to other professional training activities including community work.

The Process of Accreditation

The process by which learning programmes are recognised and learners are accredited is as follows:

Consultations and submission: Tutors and trainers who wish to have a learning programme accredited contact their local OCN where development officers or workers are available to offer consultation and support in the submission process. They discuss the programme and present it on a submission form which requires particular information about the programme, including target group(s), the aims and learning outcomes of the course, its organisation, and its assessment process.

The submission form may also require information concerning learner support and other facilities such as creches and access for the disabled. It also includes class contact and private study time and the level at which the course seeks to be recognised.

Recognition panel: When the course tutor/trainer and the development worker are satisfied with the presentation of the course, it is submitted to a panel as the first stage in the recognition process. A recognition panel is a peer group convened by the OCN. It brings together the tutors of two or three courses being submitted which are in similar areas of learning. Other tutors from different areas of provision with experience in the area of learning concerned and familiarity with the Open College accreditation process may also be invited. In the case of Access to HE courses, however, only one course programme might be presented at a panel.

The Recognition Panel has three key functions: establishing agreement on the Level of the credits offered through the course; agreeing on the number of credits which will be awarded at each level; and ensuring the internal consistency and coherence of the course. The panel may also assign moderators and agree on a timetable for moderation.

In appraising the internal consistency of the course, attention will be given, for example, to the criteria and procedures for assessment in relation to the level of the course, the relevance of the content of the course to the target group, and practical issues like timing, provision of creches, and appropriate materials and equipment.

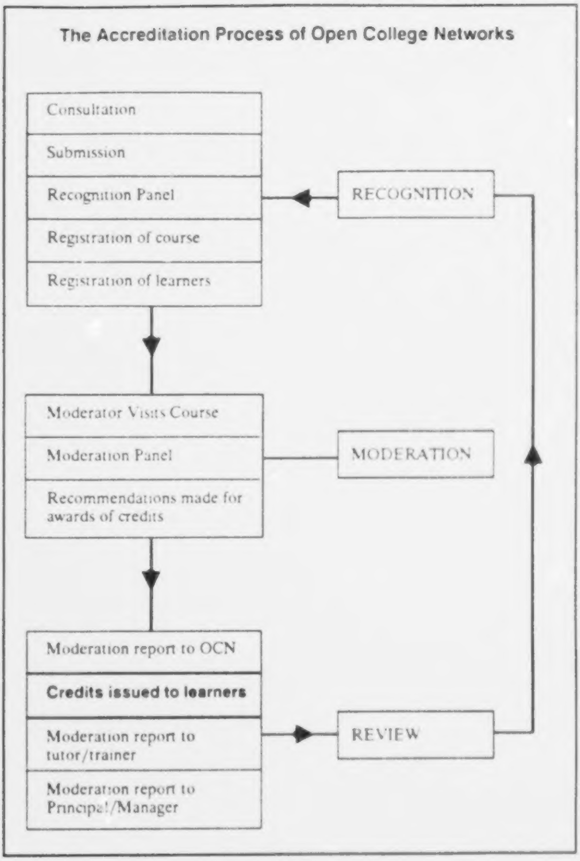
Registration: Agreement of the panel on these issues results in the registration of the learning programme with the OCN. A report is written of the panel meeting and sent to the tutor and relevant people within the organisation. This outlines what was agreed at the panel, including any conditions agreed upon or development points expressed. These might include reference to the need for childcare facilities or any agreed upon requirement for further course information, or particular items which the tutor and moderator are asked to monitor and report upon.

Course tutors recruit learners and they in turn register with the Open College if they wish to receive credits for their learning. Study Passports and Credit Registers are often issued at this point.

Moderation: Moderators or moderation conveners are suggested, appointed, or confirmed at the panel meeting, and are colleagues from different organisations or institutions, with clear experience and acknowledged expertise in the particular area of learning. They are usually responsible for a cluster or consortium of courses in similar areas of learning. They visit the courses to look at assessment materials and to consider the tutors' recommendations for awards of credit.

The moderator convenes a meeting of all the course tutors and trainers in their consortium--a Moderation Panel. This panel compares samples of learners' work to ensure consistency of levels and makes final recommendations for the award of credits to the Federation.

Figure 5



The Accreditation Process of Open College Networks

Consultation
Submission
Recognition Panel
Registration of course
Registration of learners
RECOGNITION
Moderator Visits Course
Moderation Panel
Recommendations made for awards of credits
MODERATION
Moderation report to OCN
Credits issued to learners
Moderation report to tutor/trainer
Moderation report to Principal/Manager
REVIEW

Review: Following the Moderation Panel, a moderation report is written to identify key issues, which is then sent to the OCN, the tutors and trainers of the course concerned, and to the principal or manager of the providing institutions or organisations. As a result of this process, course designs may be resubmitted for recognition to incorporate changes and amendments in the light of tutors' experiences and as a result of ideas discussed at the Moderation Panel. In addition, every four to five years, major accreditation reviews are held as a standard procedure.

Credits issued to learners: Open College staff scrutinise moderation reports to ensure consistency with original accreditation agreements, and resolve any problems with colleagues. Once awards of credit are agreed through the Open College structures, these are issued to the learners. They are held in a Study Passport or other credit document which develops as a portfolio of achievement.

Comments about these procedures from some of those directly involved follow:

> I'd just started a playscheme volunteers' course at a centre for unemployed people, and one of the students asked if she would be able to get Open College credits for it–she'd got some credits for a sewing course run in the same centre, and wanted to add to them.
>
> I didn't know much about Open Colleges, but agreed to look into it. I was cautious as I thought accreditation might impose restrictions on what I did and how I did it. Anyway, I arranged to meet a development worker and we discussed the whole process. I wanted to ensure that the learners were bringing their own skills

and experience to the course, and she convinced me that we could build in the sort of flexibility I wanted.

It was quite a lot of work presenting the course, spelling out the aims of the course, what would be assessed and how. However, I found the rigour applied to assessment helpful in giving me a clearer idea about what I was trying to do and how I was going to do it. I had a few more discussions with the development worker before we were both happy about the course and then she arranged for it to go to a panel.

There were three other courses at the recognition panel–one to do with working with frail and dependent adults, a creche workers' course, and a course for developing independent living skills.

I was quite nervous about the panel and having to present the course to other tutors and experienced people. In the end, the questions and issues they raised were constructive and supportive. In fact the panel was very keen to ensure that I was not undervaluing the learning taking place. There was some question about whether the course should be level three as well and we were asked to keep an eye on it.

I decided to see how it goes, and perhaps look at submitting it again for the next time it runs, with level three built in as an option.

The development worker suggested that the creche co-ordinator/tutor at a Women's Training Centre should be the moderation convener. I didn't know her, but met her at the recognition panel, and she was helpful. When she visited the course, she talked to the students really nicely, and there were no problems with the assessment. She did agree that it would be a good idea to increase the theory part and the necessary amount of supervision of the course and offer level three credits for people who wanted to do that.

The moderation panel was arranged with all the tutors of the courses in the moderator's consortium, who were mostly to do with childcare provision. We looked at one another's samples of learners' work to ensure that the levels were consistent. It was also an opportunity to find out more about other ways of doing things, and we looked at a new way of assessing learning which was based on a taped diary of learners and children.

There was a presentation of the credit certificates for all the students at the centre doing courses recognised by the Open College Federation–there were computing, woodwork, and sewing courses as well as mine, and the credits were presented by a local councillor. The students were really proud of their achievement, and it's really helped to improve their self-confidence. Now they want to know what they can go on to next!

The OCF has already put me in touch with a course leader at a college who is keen to recruit people with practical experience.

Some Case Studies of Open College Accreditation

To provide a basis for analysis of these procedures in terms of their effectiveness for work with unwaged people, appropriate case-study material (in addition to the authentic anecdotal material presented above) will be blended with some reflections on some of the outcomes and potential developments. The examples given are from recent activities of the Manchester Open College Federation:

Case Study One: A Cafe for Unwaged People: Tutors in a large metropolitan borough further education college had been organising with unwaged people for some time. Facilities were made available for social as well as training activities, and it was soon realised that there was an important mix between these in setting up an attractive programme. The social activities enabled college tutors and organisers to build important relationships with people dropping into the programme, which they were free to do, taking up more formal learning opportunities as they wished. In the longer term, however, it was clear that from this kind of relationship it was possible to begin to create learning opportunities and activities which were most appropriate to the groups who happened to be around at any time. Short or regular courses resulted and were programmed into a term's work. One group of people agreed that they would begin to organise a cafe in the centre as part of the services on offer. This became a popular activity in itself, with many people beginning to take responsibility for real work in the buying of materials, organising the room, book-keeping, arranging meetings and minute books, and all the paraphernalia of local community organisation.

People involved soon realised that this kind of activity (or enterprise as it had become in a small way) was also the scene for some fairly important learning in the processes of solving problems and improving organisation as the cafe developed. Since the college itself already had a growing programme of NOCF accreditation in several departments, there was an eagerness to accredit the work which people were involved in through the organising of the cafe, as a means of both articulating and recognising the learning, then perhaps linking that to other activities in the drop-in centre, and even the main college provision.

The process of accreditation itself was an opportunity for learning. Tutors and organisers had listened carefully to their clients; they had been able to make adequate facilities available for what people had expressed ideas and made agreements to do. They had been able to realise that there was a rich opportunity for learning of social and other skills; and through the local facilities of an Open College Federation, had been able to discuss the means whereby this could be accredited. In all of this activity the impulse for the work came from the learner, to and through the organiser, and towards the accreditation unit–MOCF.

Once in contact with the Open College, organisers would meet an approach which was at once empathetic and rigorous. What the MOCF offered was not so much advice or requirements as to how and why learning must be organised; that is the proper responsibility of the tutor-organisers and the relationship they are able to build with their clients. But OCNs do offer a framework within which this relationship and that learning can be placed for the purposes of not only acknowledging the learning, but making certain judgments about it. In essence, as the outlined process above has shown, these judgements can be clearly stated as agreements in three specific areas: (i) about the level of the learning; (ii) about its credit value; and (iii) about its internal consistency.

It is the latter, in particular, which provides a significant tool in building rich staff and curriculum developments. In the case of the drop-in centre's cafe, the learning which people engaged in through their work and organising needed not only to be articulated, but assessed and authenticated. We can all make easy judgements about the kind of learning we are likely to make in running a cafe, taking minutes, chairing and organising meetings, systematically buying week by week in a cash-and-carry; the MOCF framework enabled organisers, with each other and with people doing similar work in other settings and parts of the region, to make these clear, and to say how they would be assessed and eventually authenticated.

Such a process leads almost inevitably to organisers of learning themselves making realisations about their own approach and organisation. In the case of the drop-in centre, it was possible to realise that clients should perhaps take a share in several jobs, and become broadly competent at several tasks rather than just specialising in one or two only. And it would be a regular occurrence that during and after a period of operating any learning activities, that changes would be made to improve and enhance the work in some way. Most frequent is a realisation that a single level for any learning might be less than fully comprehensive, especially if the work is being carried out with a mixed-ability group, or people at quite different stages of learning. It will thus be possible to consider other levels appropriate to the group of people with whom the work is being done, and this is more likely after a period of direct experience with them.

Different levels integrated into the same learning programme require quite distinctive descriptions of the work, achievements, and assessments to be employed. They might be achieved as whole sections of the programme from which people are able to move at the appropriate juncture; there may on the other hand be elements only, such as a project, which enables people to bridge one stage of learning or competence with another, so building judicious and discrete progress into the programme. This progress, once linked with other provision accredited on a similar basis within the drop-in centre, can be widened beyond the learning of any one group at one time. Horizons are opened in the sense that people can see and realise the next step in their present context; but also on a wider college setting, practical or experiential activity and learning can be related to other perhaps more formal opportunities–for example, study skills, return to learning, and eventually (if sought) access to higher education.

Case Study Two: Linking Vocational and Non-Vocational Learning: Vocational horizons can also be opened. This is particularly true within programmes of leisure or non-vocational classes. Adult centres in Salford have over a period of several years been able to build important bridges between these two branches of provision, which are all too often separated by administrative requirements. Within an Open College context they can be considered within an identical framework, and given parallel values. This can be seen as of special value in the context of provision for and with unwaged people.

A range of traditional adult classes were accredited some years ago, and these were a great success. Craft classes, adult basic education, creative writing, cake icing, and painting classes were well subscribed and the Open College accreditation was popular, too. In years of high unemployment, these classes were targeted at unwaged people, and it became clear that there were elements of progress as people advanced through different levels in the same topic, and then from subject to subject. Certain cookery classes became linked in this way with cake icing; new sewing and tailoring classes were developed as people completed one, and were no longer satisfied at continuing to work at similar things. Skills were extended and developed, and in several craft-related classes level three activities were designed which took people towards vocational standard, whatever their original motivation happened to be.

This was, in effect, a graphic learning period for tutors and organisers of this provision, in two ways. Their confidence in creating curriculum opportunities was strengthened; and that in turn enabled them to be more outward-looking in terms of new clients and new course programmes. Household electrical work and car maintenance has been developed alongside the more traditional classes; study skills have been built up alongside the level three craft classes and creative writing, and access to higher education classes have recently completed a full programme spanning all four Open College levels.

A new "Tertiary College" system is now being developed. Plans include a "Skills for All" vocational package specifically targeted at unwaged people with flexible modules in about ten different skills areas. There are tester classes which can lead eventually to a wholesale 21-hour weekly programme", the entire range of work accredited through the MOCF. This is to be placed alongside a science access programme from which people may be able to make progress to higher level vocational studies and into several science and technology departments of local universities, whose admissions tutors are eager for adult returners as school students opt for non-scientific courses.[20]

Case Study Three: Working with Women's Groups: A similar non-vocational cross-over possibility is easy to observe in work specifically targeted at unwaged women. In Manchester, outreach development workers in community education services have been able to bring together groups of women on themes surrounding their everyday concerns–in particular, children and their own unrealised but eventually acknowledged skills. Such open development of community-based education necessitates negotiated curricular approaches. Most of this kind of development goes unacknowledged by all but those most directly involved. And yet, at its best, we know that work beginning in this way can enable many individuals to begin to plan a complete reappraisal of their lives and ambitions, particularly when this is attempted in a group setting.

Negotiated curriculum is easily placed within an Open College framework. It needs to be carefully articulated and placed within the framework of levels and credits, and this is often found to be a most productive process. Nothing of the informality of the provision need be lost, and much clarity can be added to the work in terms of agreed outcomes and the ways in which this will be assessed, itself a matter for professional community educationists to deal with in relationship with their groups. Some examples of work achieved will offer insights here.

(i) *School-Home Links*: A group of teachers at a primary school had been working with parents (all women) at the school gates and eventually in the school itself encouraging them to support their children at home as they learned to read and write. This informal work became a regular feature of school life, and teachers effectively enhanced the learning process for their children. At the same time, the parents were able to learn themselves in terms of a range of skills and understandings about their children and how they learned to read and write most effectively. Some of the parents, acknowledging this learning after about a year, joked with teachers that they should have a certificate for all they had achieved! The teachers had recently heard a presentation about MOCF, and turned the joke into a serious proposition. The resulting negotiations between the MOCF, the teachers, and the parents resulted in a clear statement about the nature, level, and content of the work the parents were doing with their children.

When this was completed, the parents became eager to continue the relationship with the teachers–and thus started a relationship of several years in which parents began to tackle such topics as the importance of play, child psychology, disturbed behaviour, and so on. Blocks of work were established over short periods, and out of this came developments for the group, and then for individuals who have been able to continue into more formal studies in the local college and other centres, several parents aiming for and achieving jobs, others entering professional training as nursery nurses.

Other outreach approaches (or rather "inreach," since this work was effectively with women in their own setting and dealing with their own concerns)[21] have included women's groups which were effectively a Tuesday afternoon speakers' session held the year round, and work in local general practitioners surgeries organising with women in ante- and post-natal clinics.

(ii) *Community Library Weekly Meetings*: The Tuesday sessions had been on-going for more than a year when the tutor, Carol Morris, came to MOCF to ask about accreditation. She was anxious that any such activity would not disturb the nature of the work she was engaged in negotiating with a group of about twenty unwaged women. Through the medium of "speakers' sessions," Morris had been able to encourage wider reading and an investigatory spirit in the group so that it started informally to study local history and politics through visits to museums, community publishers, and the like, and was then involved in setting up an exhibition of World War II memorabilia in working with older people in a nearby old folks' home. Two things had brought about the request for accreditation: first, that Morris could see that people were learning and making progress; also that this was not being acknowledged in any way. Second, people were forming ambitions as a direct result of the confidence borne of working in a group and making progress, because of the role model presented by Morris herself: She had a year before completed her degree in sociology at Salford University, after many years of evening classes and domestic sacrifice to make her own ambitions come true; she lived in the streets where she worked; shared the same certainties and uncertainties of those with whom she worked; she did not want falsely to build up the hopes of the women, and judged that simply to push people into "O" level type studies at this stage would be to kill their enthusiasm immediately.[22] She came to MOCF to explore the possibility of accrediting work, the informality of which was the key factor. Nothing should disturb that.

Open College development workers visited with Morris and the women involved. There were discussions with both about their ambitions and intentions. It was clear that the year had brought forward many activities which people were committed to other than the week-by-week attendance at the Newton Heath Community Library. People were writing of their own accord; poetry long held secretly in sideboard drawers, hidden from families, was taken up and shared in growing confidence with friends and the group. People were collecting information, and beginning to get it into some useful shape with the help and guidance of each other and Morris. Could this be accredited?

Working through the MOCF submission forms, it became clear that it could be. Implicit aims and intentions were articulated. The informal means of delivery were not altered, simply detailed as the way in which the learning was organised. It was during this period that MOCF workers themselves began to learn not to call all learning activities "courses." People worked at home after the weekly sessions at the library, so this could be included as part of the calculation of credit value; and the materials people collected, collated, commented upon, noted, and researched, were placed into a portfolio for the purposes of authenticating their activities and through which their learning could be articulated in activities with Morris and people in the group.

People were also judged to be operating at a level of learning which was largely descriptive, and yet which built upon their past learning activities and basic skills. As people became more practiced, they needed less help and support in terms of completing work which had been agreed upon in the group. This was seen to be level two in the Open College scheme of things (see Figure 4). And yet, it was also clear that some people, though only a few at this stage, were developing more swiftly, and were beginning to ask questions which were of an analytical kind, which in turn led to more questioning research. In articulating some of this work, it was concluded that we were at the boundaries of level three activities. A good example of this was one person who worked part-time at the local home for elderly people as a cleaner. She had decided to do a project on the way in which the home was organised, and to describe the different duties of the staff and management involved in its running. As this work had progressed, the part-time cleaner began to interview the old people who lived in the home as well as the professional staff, comparing and contrasting some of the comments upon the running of the place. This in turn led her to question some of the structures and systems, and to make alternative proposals of her own. The structural plan of this project became an exemplar for the type of work which would be seen and accredited as level three. Other projects by other people followed, including one called "Why have all the shops disappeared from Newton Heath, and how can we get them to open again?"

The problem that some people would be working at different levels and gaining more credits was not as divisive as had first been feared. Carefully handled and presented, principally with much in-group discussion, the work of those who were making more progress became an incentive for those who wished also to do more or more complex work. The professional skill of Morris was her ability to sustain those different levels of working while enabling the group to continue as a group.

(iii) *Clinic-Based Activity*: Work with unwaged women in General Practitioners' (GPs) clinics in South Manchester began as a result of creating inreach posts to facilitate community education processes out of South Manchester Community College, itself a tertiary institution created by the merging of several FE colleges, community centres, youth clubs, and sixth form colleges. Community education workers had a base, perhaps in a school or community centre, from which they began to understand the surrounding neighbourhood and organise with people, particularly groups of people. One such organiser was Sharon Redhead, working from Royle Green School with groups of parents. She had begun to frequent the post- and ante-natal clinics in a health centre as a result of her early connections with parents of primary school children. It became clear that there were common issues which could become a focus for work with these people in a group. The GPs agreed to a space in the clinic being set aside for this work, and weekly meetings commenced in which people simply shared experiences and ideas. Redhead's concern was to identify issues which could be brought together into a coherent framework for group learning and which would be relevant to all members of the group.

This took some time and patient negotiation. What emerged was a concern for a range of issues like first aid, child psychology, and concern about the way in which some doctors related to women in the clinics. Staff from the main college were able to join with Redhead to provide learning activities which began at level two, with all people working on the same issues and materials. After the first ten-week period, in which accreditation was successfully negotiated and achieved, it was revealed that one woman who had learned a great deal and gained her level two credits enthusiastically with everyone else, was in fact a graduate who had been previously afraid to say so believing that if she did, too much would be expected of her. Her revelation indicated her own growing confidence, and one of the learning activities which followed this was a class taught by her in her own discipline!

Case Study Four: Community Summer Camp: A final brief case study can indicate the sheer breadth of learning activity which has been embraced by Open College accreditation systems in the Manchester region. At Wheler Street Community Centre in East Manchester, a large community group had gathered together for some years in order to plan and work together on a summer camp, away from home in the south of England, for the children in the immediate neighbourhood. In the year before, some community education tutors had accredited small elements of community activity in which people had learned systematically through the general experiences of their activities, including some outdoor work. Now they wanted to see this year-long project, principally with unwaged people, accredited in as many of its elements as possible. This was a huge task. But the whole group worked together negotiating who would take responsibility for what, and broad agreement was reached in terms of the kinds, qualities, and extent of portfolios which would be brought together for the purposes of establishing and considering the learning which had been achieved.

The end result, after the year-long process, was a compendium of portfolios eventually brought together as an exhibition. Those who raised funds for the camp were able to show the books they had kept concerning the money and a log of their own activities in raising the funds. Others chose to organise the various meetings which enable the whole project to be democratically agreed upon. The minute books, letters, and room-booking arrangements were all contained in these "secretarial" portfolios. A complete record of the preparations was kept photographically, and people learned first of all about cameras and developing and printing their own film. Others made a video of the camp week itself. Almost everyone at the camp who organised in some way was able to have achievements acknowledged, and this acknowledgement led to many people progressing towards other learning activities within the centre, to build on their first achievements.

The Principal Benefits of an Open College Accreditation System

Open College accreditation is carried out through processes of peer group assessment and evaluation. It is not imposed from outside, but is a product of the expertise of practitioners, skilled in their own fields, operating within a framework mutually agreed between all providers in an LEA or region. The process is rigorous and professionally informed. It is also a developmental process which encourages and facilitates curriculum innovation and change–it does not freeze educational development.

A learner-centred approach: The needs of learners are a central focus of the process. While OCN accreditation considers the outcomes of learning, it also looks at the coherence of the learning process to achieve them, given the particular target group. The submission and recognition processes direct attention to the relevance of the curriculum for a particular target group – for example, unwaged people, single parents, black people. They also focus attention on the appropriateness of the timing of the course and the adequacy of support facilities.

Increased mobility for learners between diverse institutions and organisations: Open College accreditation provides, in a new and clear form, a framework which encompasses learning taking place in different sectors. It expresses a relationship, for example, between a playgroup leaders' course run by a voluntary organisation, a learning package delivered through a Chamber of Commerce or Local Authority Training Section, and a course run in a local college or adult education centre. Their recognition within the same system makes movement across that spectrum natural and logical.

The simple structure of the Open College accreditation system lends coherence and clarity to the bewildering range of learning opportunities available, and makes explicit relationships between learning opportunities which are available in very diverse sectors. It does this without limiting the variety of provision or choice of opportunity.

Enhanced progression opportunities: By facilitating and encouraging curriculum design to meet the needs of particular groups of learners, Open College accreditation enables credits to be accumulated for small but coherent units of learning in convenient and appropriate forms.

From design of discrete units, progression opportunities are developed within the framework to make pathways visible and accessible. While the local control of the process enables local needs to be central, credit transfer agreements between local or regional federations give wider currency value to the credits.

The credit system stimulates the modularisation of learning programmes so that learners can get credits for the work they complete. If, for example, learners have to leave a course before the end, they may nonetheless get credits for the modules for which assessment requirements have been successfully completed.

Incentives for learning: The value of the award of formal recognition for learning being undertaken should not be underestimated, particularly for people who have not obtained certificates or qualifications previously. Recognition in the form of credits is invaluable in building the self-esteem and confidence which make subsequent progression a natural development.

Many people, for example, progress into "Return to Learning" and further vocational courses as a direct result of confidence and credits accumulated while developing basic skills or in their voluntary community activity.

Appropriate level of learning: The recognition panel agrees what needs to be achieved for credits to be awarded at a particular level. It is quite common for different levels to be offered on the same course, with distinct criteria for assessment established for the different levels. Since these criteria are explicit, learners can decide, in discussion with their tutor, at which level it is most appropriate for them to work. Assignments will be different at each level and are not used as a grading mechanism.

This structure encourages tutors and learners to review what level is appropriate in an open manner within a defined framework. If a learner does not achieve the criteria for credits at the level agreed, the tutor will discuss with them the possibility of working at a different level on the same course, or if that is not possible, counsel them on to a more appropriate course.

Clarity about the criteria for achievement at a particular level gives learners greater control over their learning, avoids the necessity for grading which can be perceived as threatening and imply failure, and encourages tutors to counsel learners on to appropriate learning programmes.

Staff and curriculum development: The complete process of accreditation described in the previous section develops in a cyclical manner (see Figure 2). Moderation Panels review the results of particular approaches and tutors may then develop the way in which their programmes are organised and re-submit courses to recognition panels. In this way, recognition and moderation panels become a focus for curriculum development, and a means of mutual professional development.

Each stage in the process ensures that ideas are exchanged, anticipated learning outcomes are discussed, and the effectiveness of different modes of assessment are considered. Since these discussions involve professional colleagues from adult, further, and higher education, from employers, and from voluntary and community providers, mutual appreciation of work undertaken is developed and joint staff and curriculum development occurs.

Creating a shared culture of learning: By bringing together the diverse cultures of voluntary, community, employer-based, and education institution-based providers into a wide framework of accreditation, a shared culture of learning is beginning to emerge. This moves away from distinctions between vocational and non-vocational, between training and education, and from the varied notions of value attached to different providers.

By bringing together tutors and trainers from different learning environments, a mutual appreciation and respect is created for the work taking place in each, and stereotypes and assumptions about their relative value are challenged--adult basic education and special needs education, for example, which have often been considered low status, are revealed as involving excellence and expertise of relevance to learning at all levels; adult education is seen to be offering learning at all levels up to "-Access to Higher Education."

Comments about these procedures from some of those involved follow:

> I feel proud to think as a married woman with children that I am able to make achievements to give me credits. I would very much like to earn further credits. I feel that if I were to return to full time sewing that hopefully employers would recognise the credits for the work I have done.
> -Karen Newton, learner, Training and Resources Centre

People on the Manor actually asked for credits –the idea met with a very high level of enthusiasm. People want their achievements to be recognised, they want something to show for it and something with currency value.
–Dave Clarson, co-ordinator, Training and Resources Centre

Having a system of credits and levels lays down a clearly defined path of progress. This is helpful to the tutor as well as the students. It also provides students with a proof of achievement which can be used in the future without having to directly refer to the tutor. This gives students added independence.
–Joan Woods, tutor, Clothes Making for Beginners

At the beginning I wasn't sure this seminar had anything to offer our company. However, as the day progressed it became clearer that in the future employers would probably accept this type of accreditation when applicants for vacancies submit them. Plus it could give quality assurance to any training we ourselves may introduce!
–Mrs. J Blakewell, Davy Roll Company

I think the credits are a really great idea for someone like me who left school without any qualification, because by receiving them it will give me a sense of catching up slightly on what I've missed and restore some confidence in my own ability.
–Bob Smith, learner, Adult Education Centre

For the first time, I feel, there is an appropriate way of assessing students' learning within Adult Basic Education. Open College Federations give credit for learning and progress–irrespective of starting point.
–Judy Hennessy, tutor, Adult Education Centre

Working with the Open College Federation has provided the opportunity for credits to enhance course work without the course revolving round examination requirements.
–Elaine White, trainer, Accredited Training Centre

The course wasn't new, but submitting it for recognition gave us the chance to look at what we did with fresh eyes. The other people on the Recognition Panel worked in similar fields, so we had the rare opportunity of discussing our aims and our methods easily.
–Gina Mitchell, course co-ordinator, Residential College

When I realised that the Open College Federation would be prepared to accredit some of our courses, and that this would mean credits gained on the course had "educational value," I was delighted. The really important thing is that the nurses can gain these additional educational qualifications doing courses specifically designed to develop skilled nursing practice.
–Brenda Skeath, nurse tutor, Royal Infirmary

The Open College Federation provides a unique opportunity for tutors and trainers from different sectors to come together to discuss what

> they are doing. It provides forums where people from educational institutions, from community organisations, the voluntary sector and employers are able to discuss education and training. Ideas about good practice can be shared and developed and it leads to greater understanding and respect between the different sectors.
> –Mary Nicholson, resources link officer, Council for Voluntary Service

Conclusions

Any conclusions concerning the work of OCNs with unwaged people must begin with the general comment that OCNs are an increasingly effective component of the general opening up of education and training services in England and Wales. Such opening up remains laggardly, however, in comparison with accreditation of wide fields of learning in North America, including experiential, prior experiential, and non-collegiate learning. Open Colleges are most certainly at the leading edge of these developments in the U.K., even more so than they have been historically,[23] with many urban and rural areas now involved. It can be reasonably claimed that several national developments in education and training follow in paths created by Open Colleges, in particular the developments represented by the Government's initiative after the De Ville Report to establish the National Council for Vocational Qualifications (NCVQ). NCVQ will facilitate, perhaps even force upon, reluctant educational and training bodies wider credit transfer and recognition of all vocational awards which seek to establish a principled approach towards modularised, competence, and employment-based credits and statements of achievement. In this major national context, OCNs provide a unique opportunity to link **nationally** agreed upon standards with **locally** based curriculum development.[24] Thus, in the period up to 1993, it will be possible to combine national (and Europe-wide) acceptability with local accessibility. This has led one commentator upon Open Colleges to say that if in the U.K. Open Colleges had not been invented, then we would most certainly need something very like them now and in the future.[25]

What has to be said, too, is that many national curriculum developments expect local colleges and training providers to merely take given curriculum and apply it in their provision in order to achieve national credibility. This is in effect dismissive and professionally disenfranchising for tutors and trainers. Open College practice shows that this need not be the case. While not, however, expecting to take over the whole system, Open Colleges do expect to have the important interstitial role sketched out in this chapter, knowing that such a role is critical when it comes to the provision of **appropriate** curriculum frameworks for local groups, including unwaged people. This is especially true when it comes to those who may have been unwaged for long periods, when local and regional knowledge is paramount in coming to terms with the specific needs of people seeking from their own efforts to establish their own learning progress. National standards can be agreed upon with employers; but how these are to be achieved should be left to professional people in the field.[26] Also, if there are local requirements which differ from those established nationally, these should not be made invalid because of their status. The complementary nature of these demands upon people, trainers, and systems of accreditation can be made clear and the necessary blending achieved through arrangements like those which Open Colleges make available.

Penultimate conclusions concern three elements of what can be called "student progress," or more accurately, people's progress in learning wherever that may take place. This is now becoming a principal concern of many trainers and educationists, though it would be reasonable to claim that it began in earnest with the historical development of OCNs. These three elements are, in turn: (i) accessibility; (ii) linking vocational and non-vocational learning; and (ii) programme development.

Accessibility: Accessibility of learning is in one sense quite underdeveloped in the U.K. colleges, and places of learning are still remote to the mass of people who could usefully benefit from their services and provisions. Materials-based distance learning has largely failed in its much claimed attempts to widen access.[27] Participation rates remain low, even in the realms of more locally-based adult education.[28] While OCNs create new traditions and flexibilities, strong attachments towards traditional (and inflexible) forms of qualification remain.[29] Although there are notable exceptions, academe ignores (one is bound to add, at its peril) the potential of new forms of accreditation both in terms of research and admissions' policies.[30]

In another sense, however, accessibility is highly developed. People do learn. They do this best in their own setting, for their own reasons, and within their own motivations. This is not only as individuals establishing profound learning programmes within their own homes and other work places, but as people working in groups in their neighbourhoods and with the full range of local community activities.[31] The fact that such learning remains unrecognised in any way (either in itself or formally through accreditation) is almost scandalous, since it is a rich learning resource simply set aside. Thus, the ease of access to informal learning in the community is countered, culturally contradicted, by the remaining orthodoxy of many adult and continuing education structures in colleges. Work with unwaged people usefully points up this contradiction, and challenges our approach to all educational and training practices. This is an important point of departure for Open Colleges.

The notion of access and accessibility developed here is also a challenge to ideas of access now so commonplace as to have become a cliche in U.K. education. For most people this has now come to mean "access to higher education." Notwithstanding the excellent work and essential achievements of what can now be called the access movement, in the context of discussing education and training provision with and for unwaged people the challenge that access does not mean merely "access to higher education" has to be sustained. Nor is it satisfactory simply to talk of upper case ("A") Access (meaning access to higher education) and lower case ("a") access, since that seems to lend more credibility or status to the former.[32] Access should be plainly stated for what it is, generically, as "progress for people from where they are to where they may wish to go at any time and at any level of work and learning." We should then say who or what we are talking about in terms of access, instead of simply assuming, as most do these days, that we mean people progressing to undergraduate study at a polytechnic or a university, important though that is. Interestingly, UDACE has in its current access work adopted such an approach and may be successfully turning this particular tide of usage.[33]

Linking vocational and non-vocational learning: Perhaps nowhere are these ideas of accessibility more challenging (especially in the context of work with unwaged people) than in the wholly unjustified division between vocational and non-vocational education. This bureaucratic-administrative distinction is unhelpful and unreal. Its definition of something as not something else is bogus and culturally oppressive. It assists the bulldozing attempts of some in what is increasingly, and often accurately, called "vocationalism" in the U.K.[34] Further, it does not accord with the everyday experience of most trainers and educators that there is a clear line between things which lead to paid employment, and things which do not–things that are "merely" "leisure" or "hobby" classes. This is a deep current in U.K. culture; in 1973 a *Daily Telegraph* editorial (no less) greeted the publication of the Russell Report on Adult Education[35] with the dismissive cross-head "More Money for Hobbies." Similar sentiments are frequently expressed by hard-headed, college-based entrepreneurs, eager to ride the perceived cash-waves of government schemes for making education more relevant for the 1990s.

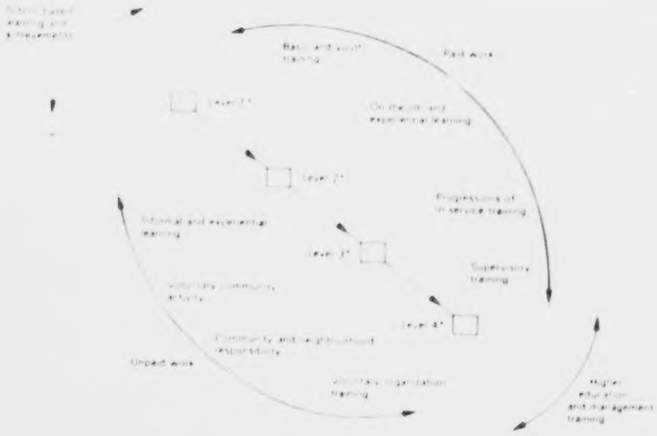
Nothing could be more administratively myopic, educationally pusillanimous, and contrary to government intentions to extend opportunities, qualifications, and participation rates.

The case studies above show well enough how people are enabled to move from where they are in their interests, to where they best see their ambitions leading, through a range of learning activities, including that which they would do in the natural course of their daily life–raising children and supporting their development, improving local services through interest groups and campaigns, and turning so-called hobby and leisure skills towards vocational ends. Traditional adult education abounds with examples of people who have successfully created careers and businesses out of hobbies. In my own early twenties I was responsible for local training within an entirely voluntary OXFAM group, followed by a period of nine years as a union activist in a naval architect's drawing office which led to a scholarship to Ruskin College, university, and a professional career in training and education. Who is to deny those early experiences as a secure foundation for my present work? "Many universities," is one ready answer to that question. What I lacked was some formal recognition of those achievements and learning. The same is true today of royal cake icing, millinery, pattern-cutting, coastal navigation, and ornithology.[36]

OCNs, however, because they begin a process of acknowledging learning in a variety of settings and within the same framework of values and levels–drawing implicit and explicit equivalences because of that–break through into a world of acknowledgement and acceptance of all learning, if that is what people want. More than most, unwaged people could do with that, banishing the notion that they are entirely unqualified and inexperienced. The shared culture of learning which Open College procedures encourage and achieve, breaks with the assumptions of traditional education and training and reveals the extent of people's achievement, rather than their failure to achieve. The elision of so-called vocational and non-vocational learning will no doubt be resisted by those who administer and compute education and training. It is time, however, for the administration of education and training to respond to the ideas and practice of educationists and trainers–rather than the other way around, which constrains real progress for people and the economy.

Figure 6

Model of Typical Open College Network Development Framework


School based
learning and
achievements
Basic and youth
training
Paid work
Level 1*
On the job and
experiential learning
Level 2*
Progressions of
in service training
Informal and experiential
learning
Level 3*
Supervisory
training
Voluntary community
activity
Level 4*
Community and neighbourhood
responsibility
Unpaid work
Voluntary organisation
training
Higher
education
and management
training

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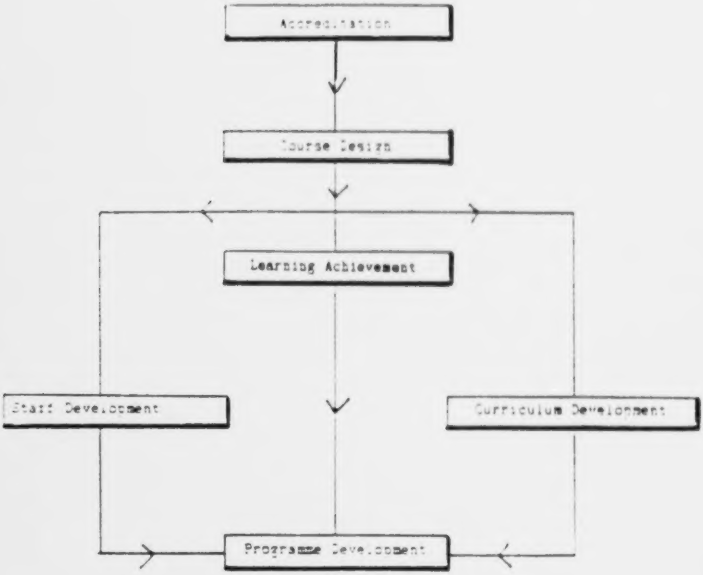
These ideas of accessibility and a shared culture of learning are brought together in a model of the Open College framework (see Figure 6). A careful consideration of this model can reveal the "trace" of people's learning careers through life at home, at paid work outside the home, and in the community, as well as in formally-organised learning in colleges and centres. Literally tracking such learning patterns from school into early training and paid work experience, into group activities in voluntary organisations, and combining these with formal learning opportunities (something rarely done in U.K. but a commonplace in North America) will actually show that learning and achievement is a **process** and not merely a series of linked events. It demonstrates the essential wisdom of a remark by Norman Evans, director of the Learning by Experience Trust, about the importance of the "zig-zag pathways of people's learning."[37]

Programme development: All of these ideas, and all the details of an OCN approach, can be brought together in a further model (see Figure 7) of programme development which is not only descriptive of the ways in which Open Colleges are used, but developmental in the sense of suggesting how they may be creatively applied to local circumstances, particularly in appraising strategic potential, for example in terms of appropriate provision for unwaged people.

The model can be interpreted in the following manner. In essence, OCNs are accreditation organisations.[38] Accreditation is their principal *raison d'etre.* This accreditation function is established in two ways: first, through a consideration of learning design, and second, by formal acknowledgement of people's learning achievements. In turn, these activities can be seen to facilitate other important processes, mainly because of the ways in which they are approached. Learning design is appraised through open discussions with those who will be organising the learning; on occasion, with those who will be engaged in that learning. It will be done in concert with others similarly involved, perhaps with different experiences, seeking to share their knowledge and ideas and to build upon them. In these ways, curriculum development takes place as colleagues begin to reflect together upon what they are attempting and how. And because of the context within which that curriculum development emerges–of peer groups in recognition panels, or eventual moderation with colleagues seeking to appreciate curriculum design achievement, and reviews of curriculum design through a variety of forums–staff development is inevitable and inescapable. Objectively used, this staff development function, emerging in the everyday activities of professional trainers and tutors (rather than in the formal, often residential, government sponsored staff development)[39] becomes more meaningful and more obviously controlled by those immediately engaged, thus adding to its professional relevance. Programme development emerges in the long term, when these curriculum-led staff development accreditation activities are widely applied in a neighbourhood or a college setting. The impulse for learning comes from two sources–tutor-trainer and learner–with critical combinations of both, separately and together.[40] Since appropriate curriculum is developed, then reviewed and renegotiated, a process of praxis, sometimes in the fullest Frierean sense of that word, is established. When the successful completion of one period of negotiated learning is followed by another, which is related to and builds upon the previous work, a programmatic schema emerges in which the progress of the learner is seen as being at the centre of things. Bringing the implications and possibilities of these models (Figures 6 and 7) together, comes very close to some contemporary thinking on the development of organisational learning.[41] This capacity to link the learning prospectus of people seeking their own personal and vocational development with the professional and personal development of those who organise learning in the community and colleges, provides OCN with ingenious opportunities to link a range of important developments rarely if ever before considered so holistically.

Figure 7

Model of Open College Network
Strategic Development Potential


Accreditation
Course Design
Learning Achievement
Staff Development
Curriculum Development
Programme Development

A final conclusion returns to an earlier point and may seem to contradict the very purpose of this chapter and perhaps even the present volume. This is that provision for unwaged people as such may not provide the fullest or best clues as to what we should do and how with people seeking to extend their abilities, skills, and understanding. It is important to point out that much experience shows that we need to facilitate the learning required by real people in real situations, rather than by the imagined needs (however empathic) of what are so often and erroneously called "the unemployed." People who are unemployed have a variety of needs, and these are as likely to be a function of their wider situations and ambitions, as they are of their particular predicament as unemployed or unwaged people. In the experience of this writer, designing courses and learning activities specifically for unemployed people, is less effective than doing so for people with particular needs and ambitions–amongst whom those who are unemployed are always going to figure, particularly in regions of high unemployment. Work with unemployed centres will facilitate work with particular unemployed and unwaged people who are, in my experience, by no means typical. But if we begin to work with people who wish to start their own business, or people who are eager to help their children to read and write, or who wish to make a campaign in their locality for a crossing patrol or better housing or a community centre, or with those who feel badly done to at the local clinic, or those who wish to invigorate their neighbourhood with a new carnival or summer camp, or environmental activity–then we shall begin to address people as people, not as unwaged or unemployed, which is essentially negative in its predication.

What OCNs have shown is that when such imaginative approaches are developed with apparently unique programmes of work and learning in each locality, they can be related to wider schemes of value in terms of accreditation, in spite of their local nature. We should look closely at work with women and women's groups for exemplars and analogues[42] and perhaps replicate what may be the greatest discovery made by adult educators in working specifically with women (as people) and addressing their particular predicaments and ambitions. This discovery is that in doing so we actually learn how we should be working with **all** people–women and men, young and old, waged and unwaged. OCNs hold a key in this process by liberating professional trainers and educationists from the constraints of given and possibly unsuitable curriculum design. The access thus provided for them opens doors for people who are unwaged, enabling them to share in building their own learning.

When Maureen O'Connor wrote in 1983 that Open Colleges were an idea whose time had arrived,[43] she was prophetic. In 1990 we know that her prediction was correct.

References

1. The 1989 Education Reform Act in the U. K. removes from direct local government control responsibility for the budgets of schools and colleges, leaving the LEA with residual responsibilities and distanced from the everyday management of strategy, now in the hands of separate institutions. Schools and colleges are at the same time required to be more relevant to the employment needs of local communities. This is considered to be facilitated by strong representation of local employers upon the governing bodies of all educational institutions. Local and regionally based Training Enterprise Councils (TECs) will provide strategic organisation of much training and further education.
2. This is most graphic in visiting the once great industrial trading estates of the Manchester region, in particular Trafford Park and the Salford Docks, both of which have been more or less razed to the ground as mills and factories became defunct and workforces made redundant either through general world recession or more effective competition from other countries. What must have been one of the most densely populated light engineering and textile mill production regions in Western Europe (including the area of Engels' classic study, *The Condition of the English Working Classes*) remains one of the worst affected areas of mass unemployment even in the midst of a service sector-led recovery in the late 1980s, with

unemployment levels still two or three times the U.K. average.

3. Six Regional Councils, including the Greater Manchester Council (GMC) and the Greater London Council (GLC), had been at the forefront of strategic responses to rising unemployment until they were disbanded as part of Central Government's reaction to what were seen as unacceptably interventionist employment, equal opportunities, and industrial policies.
4. Since that time, the education budget has been reduced by a further third as a result of Central Government's rate-capping strategies which limit the amount of local taxes a council can budget for, collect, and spend. These Central Government policies continue, and in 1990 the introduction of the Community Charge (or Poll Tax) will remove from direct local government control local business taxes to be redistributed by Central Government.
5. Browning, David, Open Colleges, in Rumney, Alan, (ed)., *New Directions in Vocational Education*. Rutledge: 1989.
6. The Open College (of the Air) has had an ill-fated if well-funded history with few students enrolled after heavy subsidies from Central Government amounting to over £40m since 1986. After recent restructuring, many senior staff have now left, at least partly because of disappointing recruitment figures which in the Manchester region have rarely entered three figures, while for example the Manchester Open College Federation has 20,000 registered learners and the Open College of the North West recruits 5,000 new learners each year.
7. While these attitudes continue to be strong in certain sectors, particularly the Workers' Education Association and the trade unions, its power is much less than even a few years ago as it is realised that there are methods of retaining the processes of adult education while acknowledging the outcomes and awarding credits for these. Some of the resistance is understandable in the face of the "new vocationalism" led

by bodies such as the National Council for Vocational Qualifications (NCVQ).

8. Her Majesty's Inspectorate (HMI) has published reports on arts and crafts provision in the Greater Manchester region, which point to the longitudinal progress of people in building their skills since the introduction of MOCF accreditation processes.
9. This access work eventually led to the formation of the Forum for Access Studies (FAST), and the full story of these developments can be found in FAST's *Journal of Access Studies*. Also the work of Ken Millins, Gareth Parry, and Maggie Woodrow in this field is essential for a full appreciation of the history of this remarkable movement in U.K. educational history.
10. *Developing Access--the Discussion Paper*. UDACE, April 1988.
11. The present writer, director of Manchester Open College Federation, released half-time as project director for two years until April 1990.
12. *Open Colleges: Current Developments and Practice*. UDACE, June 1989. (Available for the price of £1 including post and packing from UDACE, Christopher House, London Road, Leicester, LE2 0QS.)
13. Ibid, pp. 12-13.
14. A regular newsletter sponsored by BP, *Network News*, is published by and available from UDACE.
15. Aubrey Black, as the first development officer for MOCF, reported fully upon the first years of the founding of the U.K.'s first "accreditation model" Open College in a research report submitted to the Further Education Unit (FEU) of the Department of Education and Science. Strangely, given the present acknowledgement of the historical importance of these developments, this research report, *The Development of the Manchester Open College Federation* (RP64/PEVE–1983), remains unpublished. It should be revived. Prior to the founding of MOCF, Black also had a major role as chair of the Evaluation Committee at Manchester Polytechnic, set up

to introduce wide-ranging evaluation programmes based not upon measurement but upon the appraisal of the articulated experiences of teacher and taught. This work is described in Adelman and Alexander, *The Self-evaluating Institution: Practices and Principles in the Management of Educational Change*. Methuen, 1982.

16. See UDACE-OCN-BP *Network News* for up-dates on these international and European links.
17. Op. cit., UDACE, 1989, chapter 2, pp. 4-9.
18. OCN project staff discussion with Training Agency staff.
19. The maximum number of hours in a week permitted for study without reduction or removal of state benefits for unwaged and unemployed people.
20. A popular demographic myth of the late 1980s and early 1990s should be referred to here. It is said that school students are reducing by one third in this period. This is true. But the widespread belief that this means fewer school student entrants to higher education is easily dispelled. It is in fact working class people who have stopped having children; while middle class people are having more children. Thus, there is no effective drop in the number of middle class school students aiming for higher education. If anything, higher demand from these quarters is being recorded. What is happening, however, is that these young people are not choosing science and engineering courses, because they are not on the whole the best paid jobs. In this context, the interests of higher education science faculties, potential mature students, and unwaged people coincide!
21. The term "inreach" has gained some regular usage in the last year or so, and it is worth recording what may be its origins: Northern College, Barnsley, where the concept was in regular use in the early 1980s. The process of inreach is described in an unpublished paper, Northern College and the Community, presented by this writer to a Residential Colleges' Committee conference at Northern College in January 1982.

22. Morris, Carol, *Something for Me: Studies of Women in Education*. Open College Papers 1: MOCF: 1987.
23. For a concise historical sketch of these developments, see Browning, David, Access and Real Choices for Adults–Beyond GCSE, in *Adults Learning*, January 1990, NIACE.
24. There are signs that this will lead to agreed upon collaboration between OCNs and the NCVQ. Discussions (commenced in December 1989) continue between the UDACE OCN Project and senior staff at NCVQ with a view to a joint publication on this theme, facilitating the delivery of National Vocational Qualifications through **local** Open Colleges, pilot studies and projects to demonstrate good practice in this area, and meetings between the national awarding bodies and Open Colleges, possibly through the National OCN.
25. Culley, Alan, (Chief Education Officer–Knowsley LEA) in *Education*, July 1989.
26. NCVQ is quite clear about this. They are concerned only with **outcomes**. How these outcomes are achieved is correctly (in my view) left entirely in the hands of those who organise training and education.
27. Recent developments through such government-sponsored schemes as Open Tech and The Open College (of the Air) have singularly failed to extend appropriate learning amongst adults not formerly involved in training and education. Aggregate numbers of learners involved are low; when compared with the costs of such schemes, in particular the extent of government subsidies, these numbers are, in my view, unacceptably low. Once subsidies are removed and full cost pricing of materials and services are applied, access is even more restricted–to those who can afford the cost of materials or succeed in having employer support and payments, and who are able successfully to establish a study base in their own homes. Such factors makes these modes of learning virtually inaccessible to groups of women and unwaged people. A full and open enquiry into the costs of

these experiments to the public purse is long overdue. The Open University may be an exception to this criticism, but OU drop-out rates among working class people, and enrollment rates among middle class and already qualified people are both disproportionately high.

28. See, for example, Munn, Pamela, and Carolyn MacDonald, Participation in Adult Education in Scotland: What Effects Return to Learning? *Adult Education*, Vol. 61, No. 3, December 1988, NIACE.

29. See Field, John, Adult Learners and GCSE: Future Choices, *Adult Education*, Vol. 61, No. 3, December 1988, NIACE. Also a response from an Open College perspective in *Adults Learning*, January 1990, NIACE. These should be compared to the results of a Leverhulme Research Project carried out by Linda Butler with support from the Equal Opportunities Commission in 1978 at Ilkley College. Butler demonstrated that a significant factor in women's desire for traditional qualifications was the demand of husbands that these studies were demonstrably serious.

30. In terms of research, Keith Percy at Lancaster University continues to explore radical departures in adult education including Open Colleges. Current work, sponsored by REPLAN and FEU, involves a comparative study of the progress of unwaged people through three OCNs in the North West, Greater Manchester, and South London. Also refer to the work of Norman Evans and Linda Butler at the Learning by Experience Trust, the CNAA in its long standing support of research access issues, and UDACE's current work with competency-based qualifications. In terms of admissions' policies, the most notable development must be the CNAA-CVCP Framework for the accreditation of Access to Higher Education courses. The active involvement of Polytechnics and Universities is far from complete. Skeptical observers believe that some sections of higher education will use mature student entrants only until the demographic trends move out of their present trough, and only then in

(their own) prioritised (low traditional recruitment) subjects, or that traditional "A" level score requirements will be relaxed in order to increase participation rates among school students or compete with other establishments.

31. For full and careful analyses of the effectiveness and significance of the non-statutory and voluntary sector in training and education, see various recent publications from UDACE; in particular, Percy, Keith, *Mapping Learning Activity in Voluntary Organisations*, 1988, and Darvill, Giles, Elizabeth Perkins, and Judith Unell, *Learning from Volunteering: An Exploratory Study*, 1988.
32. The present writer may have been one of the first to establish this distinction so clearly prior to its entering into general usage. See Access for Whom and for What? *Education for Capability Newsletter*, Higher Education Issue, RSA, London, June 1987. If this is so, I recant completely.
33. See UDACE's broad definition of access in *Developing Access*, April 1988.
34. This is particularly so in some Further Education colleges where employment-led provision brings together a sudden conversion to accreditation and entrepreneurial survival instincts. This works well, and not before time. But where it effectively blocks wider, locally-created training and accreditation activities enabling learners' progress (and there are many cases where this happens) such "new vocationalism" is unwelcome and contradicts the intentions of the De Ville Report.
35. *Adult Education: A Plan for Development*. HMSO, 1973.
36. My mother, Faith Browning, completed two years of the HASLAM method of pattern-cutting and tailoring in 1947 at an evening class in Blyth Northumberland. As an 8-year-old I attended the class to be measured for a Sunday coat. These classes, my mother's learning, and a second-hand Jones treadle sewing-machine sustained a family of five through the lean years of post-war rationing. Faith Browning, now 82 years old, remains virtually self-sufficient in her own clothes

despite near blindness. In what sense is this experience less valid than training in or for paid employment?

37. Evans, Norman, *The Guardian*, October 1, 1986.
38. They have not always been. Open Colleges in the North West and in London had other functions. The North West sponsored and developed alternative curricula to traditional "O" and "A" level awards; in London, OCNs were collaborative groupings of providers committed to breaking down barriers to access and including strong educational guidance links. All these have now developed accreditation services, and this principal function has become a national norm.
39. This is now known as the LEA Training Grants Scheme. It had previously been known as Grant Related In-service Training, or GRIST. These initials (the butt of many other jokes) became known in the North West of England as an acronym for "Guaranteed Rest in Seaside Towns" in reference to residential courses on the Lancashire coast. Such a good jest contains a profound truth.
40. See Wren, Brian, *Education for Justice*. SCM, 1976. This is perhaps the earliest expression of the idea of tutor-learners and learner-tutors being a productive relationship for the development of appropriate curricula.
41. See particularly Garratt, Bob, *The Learning Organisation*. Fontana, 1987, Part 2, Section 1. This includes models generated in the context of management education; these in turn rely upon Kolb's learning cycle and recent work by Max Boisot.
42. See, for example, Flynn, Pam, et al, *You're Learning All the Time: Women, Education, and Community Work*. Spokesman, 1986; and Moss, Wendy, *Breaking the Barriers: Eight Case Studies of Women Returning to Learning in North London*. ALFA, North London Open College, 1988.
43. O'Connor, Maureen, *The Guardian*, May 10, 1983.

CHAPTER 8

Adult Education and Trade Union Centres Against Unemployment

By Keith Forrester and Kevin Ward

Introduction

The economic restructuring presently underway within all industrialised countries has resulted, as indicated in earlier chapters, in educational policy assuming greater political attention than in previous years. Few countries have been exempt from this closer national scrutiny in the deployment of educational resources. Within the general parameters of a need to establish closer links between education and the worlds of work and industry, or between education and "the real world," the 1980s have witnessed only the beginnings of a major initiative to restructure the political economy of education. It is at the door of the educational systems that, for some policy makers, blame resides for past and present economic failure. The salvation to these problems will involve a new thrusting alliance forged between the concerns of education and technology. For some commentators, in Britain at least, the viability of the future economic health of the country will to a large extent be dependent on breaking "pseudo-aristocratic" traditions and values endemic in the educational system, especially those within the university sector.[1] As Ashby pointed out some twenty years ago, "The attitude of universities towards technology is still ambiguous; until the ambiguity is resolved the universities will not have adapted themselves to one of the major consequences of the scientific revolution."[2] Resolving this "ambiguity" has been at the forefront of government policy, especially within the realm of British higher education, throughout the 1980s. Others are not so sure. Hall, for example, has characterised government educational policy as seeking "to drive the educational bandwagon as rapidly as possible back to the stone-age."[3]

Certainly the attempt to "modernise" the education system in a direction more sensitive to the needs of the "free market" echoes distinctly through a number of key government publications in the United Kingdom during the 1980s. The encouragement of contract research for industry, industrial sponsorship of students, business executives as visiting professors, capital equipment in the form of gifts from local industry, and the rise of the academic as a business consultant, are examples of closer links between the universities and industry. The "encouragement" is helped, obviously, by programmes of enforced financial "savings" within universities (i.e., major financial cuts) which have become a "normal" part of any university's concerns in the 1980s. As Robins and Webster have pointed out, "What we are seeing in the increased commercialisation and privatisation of university research is the intensification of industry's grip in this sphere--a process in which capital's needs become ever more dominant and in which wider social priorities are ignored."[4]

In one sense, this chapter is about these "wider social priorities." For in Britain, the criticisms levelled against the educational system have, and are, occurring as part of a wider strategy designed to remedy the poor national economic record. Understanding the changes occurring within the British educational system, and within the universities, requires understanding of the other "weak link in an economy"–the labour market, as the Department of Employment's document, *Employment: The Challenge for the Nation* puts it.[5] More particularly, it is the obstacles and restrictions in the operation of the labour market that is the problem. The Wages Councils, for example, responsible for setting minimum national rates of pay for the most fragmented and poorly paid sectors in the economy, have either been weakened or abolished. It is the failure of wages to fall to their "market forces" level that is seen as a major deficiency within an efficient labour market. The aim of "pricing people into jobs," explicitly adopted by the government in their 1985 White Paper, has ensured the development of a highly interventionist labour market strategy focused around two major elements. Firstly, radical changes in the social security (welfare) system have recently been introduced. Having abolished earnings-related unemployment benefit, the 1988 supplementary benefit entitlements–which were of considerable importance to the long-term unemployed–have been severely reduced and replaced by discretionary recoverable loans.[6] Furthermore, severe reductions in benefits for young people have taken place.

The second element in the government's labour market strategy has been the £1.4 billion Employment Training Scheme (ET), Britain's largest-ever training programme designed to help unemployed people according to the Secretary of State for Employment. In spite of persistent claims that ET represents the British equivalent of the American "workfare" programme, a recent survey of this training initiative by the Low Pay Unit concludes, "although on the face of it the 200,000 people currently in training may seem to be some measure of success, ET has proved to be little more than a means of taking people off the unemployment register...It is underfunded, ill-thought-out, and there is a serious shortage of employers willing to provide work experience placements."[7]

For those educationalists, especially those working within a British university, interested in developing educational relationships with groups of unwaged and unemployed adults, the last ten years have been a difficult period. The contextual background outlined above has suggested the increasingly complex financial and ideological circumstances defining university adult education practice concerned with those out of or on the margins of the labour market. Despite these difficulties, however, it will be argued in the conclusions to this chapter that opportunities for new initiatives do exist. The government's strategy and policy designs towards the labour market have, in a contradictory manner, provided critical openings within which university liberal adult education may emerge with a greater and more influential role than previously.

Before these concluding remarks, however, the sections below will illustrate the activities of one university adult education department as it has attempted to address specific concerns relating to the unemployed. The case study will be used to provide a basis for the concluding comments on the role and possibilities of liberal adult education at this critical period of transition and change within the British university system. As the case study involves working with unemployed people within the national network of unemployment centres organised through the British trade unions, the first section of the chapter will provide a brief overview of the origins and nature of these Centres for the Unemployed. Against such a background, the second section will outline and discuss the educational activities and implications undertaken by the university's adult educational department.

British Trade Unions and Unemployment: The Origins of the Centres for the Unemployed

It was at the 1980 Trade Union Congress (TUC) that the General Council was instructed to "consider ways in which the interest of the non-employed could be represented, on the basis that the 'social wage' should be a matter of more negotiations by Congress, and to report to the next Congress."[8] In moving the motion, the delegates warned that the "government would like to drive a wedge between those who are in work and those who are not" and of the need to "establish a community of interest between all those who have to work for their livelihood or who want to do so." This political concern, "to enfranchise the non-employed within our structure," was reflected in the aims of the general council's wide-ranging on-going review of the TUC's organisation, structure, and services. A discussion document was to be prepared, which included "the possibility of the Movement developing services for the unemployed..."

In November 1980, a Consultative Conference was organised by the TUC to consider the appropriate "services for the unemployed." Involving "representatives...representing more than 11,000,000 members"[9] the conference agreed to a wide range of issues that provided the basis for the establishment and future development of policy and organisation. The report presented to Congress the following year represents, perhaps, the most detailed outline of TUC policy toward the unemployed.

In short, it was agreed by a wide consensus that: firstly, "unions should continue to develop their organisations and services for the retention of unemployed members, and where appropriate, the recruitment of unemployed people"; and secondly, that "unemployed workers centres should be established with trade union backing to advise, assist and involve the unemployed." The TUC would provide the overall coordination for the centres, instead of individual trade unions, and so avoid "undue bureaucracy and duplication of TUC and union machinery." The proposed centres for the unemployed would "provide unemployed people with information about opportunities and assistance for training availability and generally on help available to the unemployed." Local trade unions could provide assistance at local tribunals. The centres "should also provide a focal point in the community where unemployed people could make contact with each other and become involved in a wide range of activities including educational classes."[10]

It was the TUC Regional Councils, then, that were to be responsible for the establishment of the Centres, working through the Local Trades Council. Progress was rapid. By 1984 some 200 centres (UWCs) were established. Today, approximately 150 UWCs are located in England and Wales. Local UWCs are part of the formal structure of the national TUC. The nine Regional Councils of the TUC in England and Wales are responsible, through the Local Trades Council, for the UWCs within the Region (see Fig. 1).

Each Regional TUC has an unemployed delegate responsible for co-ordinating the functions and activities of the UWCs within the region (TUC Regional Officer, Services for the Unemployed). Nationally, a full-time paid officer (TUC National Development Officer, Services for the Unemployed) is responsible for the implementation of TUC policy and reports to the General Council of the TUC via the Employment, Policy and Organisation Committee. UWCs, then, are constitutionally integrated into the complex national structure of the TUC. Within a region, periodic Consultative Conferences involving representation from all the UWCs meet to discuss common concerns and activities, usually with delegates from the Regional Council in attendance. Annually, a National Consultative Conference is organised, involving representatives from UWCs throughout the country. As Figure 1 indicates, policy initiatives by unemployed people using their local UWC are either: a) through their membership in an individual trade union; b) through participation in the local Trades Council as a trade union representative from their local branch; or c) indirectly, through a Trades Council delegate on the UWC's Management Committee. The immediate structures involving UWCs have no policy-making function: their role is a consultative role.

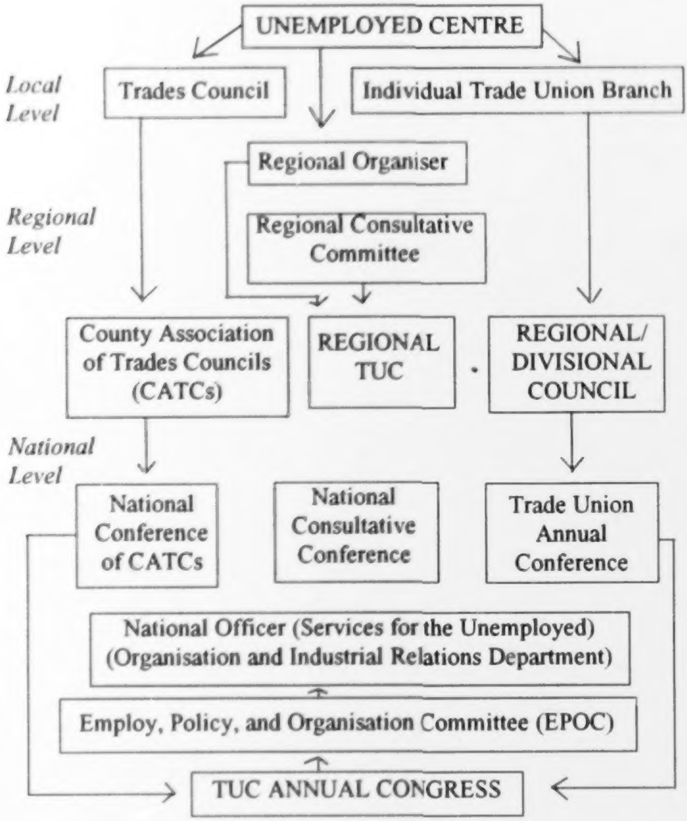
The objectives of UWCs are outlined in the TUC guidelines:

> a) firstly, there should be counselling and advice on opportunities and assistance for training and general "help available to the unemployed."
>
> b) there should be provision "of a focal point in the community where unemployed people could make contact with each other and become involved in a range of activities, including educational classes." Assistance should be provided to "assist the newly unemployed to maintain or establish links with trade unions."
>
> c) finally, the Centres should have a "representation" function. Two specific examples are mentioned: helping promote schemes for the unemployed under the Manpower Services Commission (MSC) programmes (the government funded training body), and secondly, to promote concessionary schemes for the unemployed in regards to transport and recreational facilities.

Financially, some £9 million per annum is required to maintain the Centres. Trades Union contributions to this total accounts for less than 2 percent. Essentially, the finance is raised from public funding, principally through local government (approximately 50-plus percent) and the remainder provided by the MSC in some 74 Centres.

Figure 1

The TUC Structure and the Centres for the Unemployed


UNEMPLOYED CENTRE
Local Level
Trades Council
Individual Trade Union Branch
Regional Organiser
Regional Level
Regional Consultative Committee
County Association of Trades Councils (CATCs)
REGIONAL TUC
REGIONAL/ DIVISIONAL COUNCIL
National Level
National Conference of CATCs
National Consultative Conference
Trade Union Annual Conference
National Officer (Services for the Unemployed) (Organisation and Industrial Relations Department)
Employ, Policy, and Organisation Committee (EPOC)
TUC ANNUAL CONGRESS

A Developing Educational Provision Through the Centres for the Unemployed

In the summer of 1988, the TUC held a major national conference on the future role of the TUC centres. Senior national trades union officials joined unwaged people and workers from the centres in the first major official evaluation of the TUC strategy since the centres were established in 1981.

There were three major resource documents for this conference, and they all emanated from an action research adult education programme which had been developed with the TUC and the centres throughout the 1980s. One was the result of the first national survey of the centres, which was produced for the TUC in 1988.[12] The other two substantial documents were produced by participants on two-week-long residential educational courses held several weeks prior to the national conference. The courses were designed specifically as in-depth evaluations of the TUC strategy towards unemployed people. Experienced unemployed users of the centres, together with the centre workers from the nine TUC regions in England and Wales, as well as invited European and American trades unionists, were involved in undertaking this task.

The paragraphs below describe: a) the origins and provide an overview of the educational activities from a university adult education base; b) the process and partnership between the TUC, the centres, and the university; c) the models of adult education underpinning this work; d) the resource, research, and servicing role of the university; and finally, e) a preliminary assessment of the outcomes in this developing adult education programme.

The Department of Adult Education at Leeds University in the north of England has had a long-standing commitment to the development of liberal adult education.[13] In common with some other British adult education departments, it has a large and important programme of workers education; more recently (in 1982) it developed a unique and major community-based adult education project with working class groups, focusing particularly on unwaged adults.[14] The current project involving unemployed people and the trades union centres arose from these two strands within the department's activities.

Since 1982, educational work from Leeds involving the UWCs has developed in a number of directions and at a variety of levels. These developments are summarised below:

a) Educational work with **two trades unions** at regional level which focused on developing and implementing a "retention policy" for unemployed members.[15] This work proved difficult to sustain beyond a two-year period.

b) Educational provision with **"users" at the local UWC**. The range of courses can be categorised either as "survival/coping" courses or "interest" courses. The former include "Welfare Rights" or "Survival on the Dole," the latter, "Photography," "Video," "Art," "Music," and "Local History."

c) **Regional UWC Workshops**: Since 1983, regular one-day workshops have been organised for unemployed people using the six local UWCs around Leeds. Additionally, a series of "Training Workshops for Workers" within the centres, clarifying their role and functions within the centres, were devised. Finally, and also at a regional level, two-day residential courses have been developed on an annual basis which involve representatives from all the regional UWCs.

> d) From 1985, **national one-week residential workshops** have been organised, involving three participants from each of the nine TUC Regions in England and Wales. These national workshops are held in January and July of each year.

The last three national residential workshops have all involved trades unionists or unemployed people from a number of European countries and from North America. The future involvement of the European Trade Union Research Institute and the European TUC will strengthen the likelihood of future joint organisational and educational activities involving unemployed people from a number of countries. Financially, provision is free for unemployed people. Residential costs for regional and national workshops are covered through contributions from individual trades unions. Since the announcement of work with the UWCs in the early 1980s, a number of concerns have shaped the **framework** within which the educational objectives have emerged, whether at local, regional, or national level. These are:

> a) There should be available, within all the TUC regions, "collective" educational progression, beginning within the local UWC and developing through the regions to encompass all the regions at the national level.
>
> b) The "core" curriculum of this progression should include a critical evaluation of those policies and their implications which are of direct relevance to those outside of, and on the margins of, the labour market. Organisational issues and priorities for future activity are seen as an integral part of any policy analysis.
>
> c) The culmination of the educational processes

should contribute towards an enhanced collective ability by unemployed people themselves to shape and influence government and trades union policy issues relating both to unemployed and employed people.

d) Where possible, this educational provision should be linked and accountable to the TUC structures at the local level (Trades Councils), regionally (Regional TUC), and nationally (National Officer).

The **specific aims and objectives** of the courses flow from the above framework and are determined by the level of the course and the changing concerns within the UWCs since their origins. An illustration of how the specific aims are interwoven within the framework outlined above is the current regional education programme for the centres within the TUC's Yorkshire and Humberside Region for the period 1989–1990 (see Fig. 2).

Organised through the Regional TUC (Services for the Unemployed), the regional educational programme entails the various educational agencies collaborating closely together in the development of a coherent planned programme of residential workshops, day schools, linked workshops, and weekend schools. Targeted at different groups within the regional centres, the educational activities illustrate the concern with: firstly, policy issues ("Employment Training," the new "Social Security Legislation," the "Poll Tax"); secondly, with organisational issues (organising unemployment groups within the centres, using the media, providing child-care arrangements); and thirdly, with coordinating and strategy issues (within the regions and nationally amongst the centres, involving wider audiences such as trades unions and voluntary agencies).

Figure 2

Regional Learning Activities
with TUC Unemployment Workers Centres
in Yorkshire and Humberside, Autumn 1989-Summer 1990

Date	Subject Area	Audience	Venue
8-11 October (residential)	Induction Course	Recent Users of the Centres	Northern College
11-13 October (residential)	Developing Alternatives to "Employment Training"	Experienced Centre People	Northern College
Spring 1990	Recall Day to Review Developments	Experienced Centre People	Northern College
2 November	Regional Coordinating Workshop	Users	Leeds Regional TUC Office
16 November	Workshop: Changes in Social Security Legislation	Everyone	Leeds Regional TUC Office
23 November	Two-Day Workshop: Getting Ourselves Organised	Users in the Centre	Leeds Regional TUC Office

-continued-

TRADE UNION CENTRES

Date	Subject Area	Audience	Venue
7 December	Regional Quarterly Conference	Representatives from Centres	Leeds Regional TUC Office
11 January 1990	Workshop: Equal Opportunities and Childcare Provisions	Everyone	Wakefield Centre
4-7 February (residential)	Induction Course	Recent Users of the Centres	Northern College
7-9 February (residential)	Building Alliances with Other Groups	Experienced People	Northern College
8 March	Workshop for Educationalists Working with Unwaged People	Interested People	Northern College
22 March	Workshop: The Poll Tax	Everyone	Bradford
27 March	Regional Coordinating Workshop	Users	Castle College Sheffield
21-22 April (provisional)	Regional Weekend School	Everyone	Northern College

In addition, a Residential Week (6-11 May 1990) will be available for use as determined by the Centres during the year.

Finally, it is important to note that the eventual programme is the result of discussions within the centres, in previous courses, and at regional coordinating meetings by the unemployed themselves.

Unemployed participants in the national residential schools are assumed to have been educationally active in previous regional and local activities. Immediate centre concerns are not the focus in national workshops; rather, campaigning activities, alliances with wider audiences, and comparative historical issues are likely to be considered. Certain concerns, however, remain common to all educational activity–e.g., problems of "adequate" funding.

Models of Adult Education

In order to illustrate further the assumptions and conceptions informing the educational practice involved in the above Leeds case-study, it is useful to briefly distinguish between various models of adult education, each with differing underlying objectives. Obviously, in practice, elements of various models may underpin a particular project:

The Training Model: The first priority for most unwaged people is obtaining a job; and training or re-training courses are one seemingly obvious route to this end. Nobody could deny that in a rapidly changing society, re-training has a centrally important role. However, apart from the crucial fact that government training schemes for the unemployed people–in Britain at least–do not always lead on to full-time jobs, there are other severe problems: a pure training model is inherently mechanistic and conservative. The task to be accomplished is given, assumed; the training consists of instruction on how best it is to be accomplished. No discussion or analysis, except in terms of efficient achievement of the given task, can enter into such a process. No questioning of the validity or desirability of the task can be permitted to intervene in the process. And no open-ended discussion of the wider social economic and political context, of possible alternatives, or of possible criticisms of the assumptions, can be undertaken. In these senses, therefore, the exclusive training model performs no **educational** function at all. Indeed, it reinforces the **status quo**, closes off discussions and analyses, and restricts rather than expands popular consciousness.

The Therapy/Social Control Model: From a similar ideological stance as the "trainers" are those who see the purpose of adult education with the unemployed as being **either** therapeutic (easing the process of adjustment and thereby acceptance) **or**, controlling (ensuring that potentially destructive elements in society are neutralised). These approaches depend upon a pathological view of unemployment: being unemployed is indicative, at least in part, of some personality deficiency or lack of ability or drive. There is no hint here of structural explanations, still less of critical analysis of alternative political and economic strategies which might be held to ameliorate, if not cure absolutely, unemployment.

The Liberal Model: The liberal tradition is difficult to define briefly, both because it is a "conceptual continuum" rather than one specific stance, and because its practice (its organisational application) has varied largely over both time and institutional location. However, in general, it has always had a strong emphasis upon personal development and upon the intrinsic worth of education *per se*; equally, however, it has often stressed the traditional "neutrality" of the tutor, and the orthodox pedagogic practice has consisted of imparting an established body of knowledge by the tutor to the student.

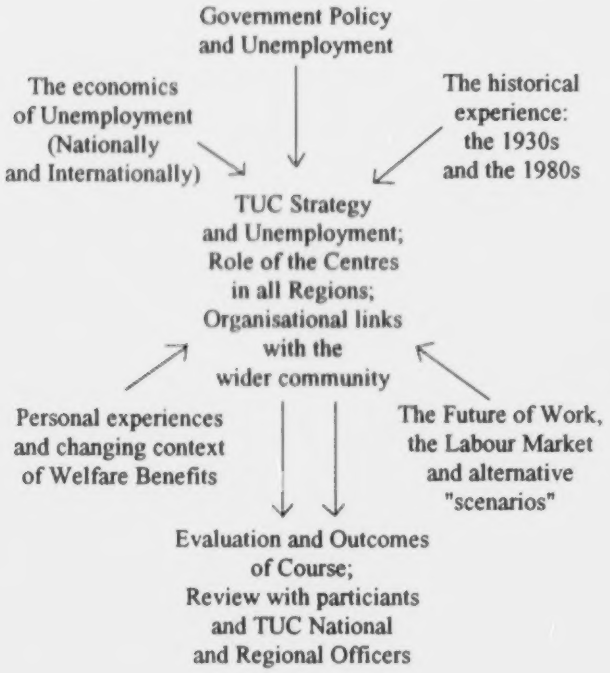
The Social Purpose/Socialist Model: The social purpose model can be located at the radical end of the "liberal continuum," or can be regarded as more of a socialist model. The relevance of this, for the purpose of this chapter, is that unlike the other models, it stresses a commitment to **collective** adult education, and seeks **ideally** to engage in the raising of working class consciousness and action–or "empowerment"–through critical educational processes. As an illustration of how the social purpose conception of adult education informs the practice and organisation of the provision outlined in the preceding section, further detail will be provided about the national residential schools which have been running since 1984.

While the TUC organises a one-day annual consultative conference for centre representatives to discuss and propose policy changes, the residential weeks are the sole vehicle available to the centres to evaluate collectively, progress nationally, and learn from the experience of different regions in the country. On the insistence of unemployed activists who attended the first national courses, they have been aimed primarily at unemployed activists –and not paid centre staff–who are chosen to attend by their peers in the region. The two national courses in 1988, however, involved an element of "educational vanguardism," when the most experienced centre staff and activists met for the first major review of the centres. The following diagram (see Figure 3) illustrates the curriculum structure of these residential national weeks.

From this outline structure, it is clear that this course fits into the social purpose/socialist model. There is collective and open-ended critical discussion based upon concern expressed at regional level. The courses combine theory and practice (and personal experience) about the causes of, and the responses to, unemployment, as well as an analysis of the TUC strategy about unemployment and the future of the labour market. This strategy is reviewed in the context of the historical experience, and as a response to government policy economically and politically. An analysis of the organisation, structure, and role of the unemployed centres takes place within this framework. In recent courses, this has been compared and contrasted with trades union and political responses elsewhere as trades unionists from other parts of Europe and North America, and from the Irish national organisation of unemployed people, have been involved.

Figure 3

Curriculum Structure of National Residential Schools


Government Policy and Unemployment
The economics of Unemployment (Nationally and Internationally)
The historical experience: the 1930s and the 1980s
TUC Strategy and Unemployment; Role of the Centres in all Regions; Organisational links with the wider community
Personal experiences and changing context of Welfare Benefits
The Future of Work, the Labour Market and alternative "scenarios"
Evaluation and Outcomes of Course; Review with particiants and TUC National and Regional Officers

The Resource, Research and Servicing Role of the University

Given the predominance of the training model overall in adult and continuing education in Britain currently, the resources available for working class "emancipatory" education are minuscule. Within these major constraints, the University Department at Leeds has secured whatever funds it could for this type of work. While the University has never received any payments for this work from unemployed centres or the TUC, more than £40,000 of the Department's budget has been spent on organising and running the above programmes. An additional £36,000 has been raised from the trade unions to cover unemployed people's residential costs, etc. This is a small, but important, example of the "resource" role of a university.

It became clear, as the adult education programme developed regionally and nationally, that a national data base was needed about the centres. To help assess the effectiveness of the centres and share information more consistently between different parts of the country, up-to-date information was needed. This included both quantifiable data--on the funding, staffing, and role of centres--as well as more qualitative information about centre relationships locally with trades unions (and vice versa), community groups, etc., and examples of their role in practice (e.g., campaigning activities).

Thus, the TUC commissioned the University staff involved to perform this task. At one level, this was conventional top-down academic research which has led to the production of regular research reports for the TUC. At another level, it has been an integral part of the overall programme. It provided detailed information which unemployed people themselves and unemployed centres had requested; and the reports have been utilised at numerous regional and local meetings of the centres as a baseline for critical discussion about the future role of the centres and the TUC strategy. Finally, the first national survey was one of the major resource documents for the TUC national consultative conference in 1988, where the future role of the centres was discussed. Thus, the research generally has developed into an important servicing element for ongoing action and policy debate.

The link to policy debate from this overall adult education action-research programme is an important concrete outcome. Less tangible outcomes include the "ripple" or cascade effect of regional and national courses; concerns regionally feed into national courses. Participants from these courses provide written reports for discussion for all regions, and the courses have, according both to participants and regional TUC officials, encouraged the development of key activists in many areas.

In adult education terms, however, the programme illustrates clearly that even in a harsh political climate, a partnership process can be developed between a university and labour organisations, over a key issue like unemployment; a partnership process, moreover, which utilises critical education for collective social and political purposes. Its "servicing" educational and research role contributes, marginally at least, to providing a forum or a "voice" for unemployed activists as they struggle within the labour movement to highlight unemployment as a key issue for waged and unwaged alike, ultimately creating an effective social movement.

Conclusions

As mentioned in the introductory comments to this chapter, British universities in general and university adult education departments in particular are facing increasing national pressure, through financial restructuring, to relate much more closely to the "real world" of industry. As Westwood has recently noted when talking of the enterprise culture and the re-structuring of British adult education, "...the understanding is that extra-mural work should become more self-financing, more market oriented, and those courses that will survive are those that the market will support."[16]

Of course, any consideration of educational systems will necessarily entail analysing those relationships with, for example, the economy, technological development, industry, and the production of research. The worry, however, in the British context, is that this educational debate appears to have been replaced by a narrow preoccupation with utilitarian vocationalism and attempts to identify new forms of wealth creation.

Labour market policy is important and, indeed, crucially important for trades unionists and those who remain outside any waged relationship. But the worry remains, as the National Unemployed Centre's Combine put it, that "Employment Training as a structure for delivering the skills that the economy needs is a failure." By reducing direct and indirect labour costs to local business, by depressing wage expectations, and by moving "training" outside the wage relationship, the government's ET scheme is increasingly encountering a hostile reception from groups of unemployed people.

ET and the development of alternative training programmes in conjunction with, for example, sympathetic local authorities remains a central concern of the local TUC Unemployed Workers' Centres, and as such is reflected in the educational programme outlined earlier. A concern, therefore, with the labour market is an important part of an adult education practice involving unemployed groups, but within a critical framework that encourages the exploration of alternative training programmes. By linking these immediate concerns with the fate of the Wages Councils and changes in the Social Security provision, there is the attempt to make visible the "ignored wider social priorities," mentioned earlier by Robins and Webster.

Despite, then, the difficulties experienced by adult educators in recent years, it is possible, as a number of agencies have demonstrated, to develop a partnership process involving labour organisations over key issues such as unemployment; a partnership process, moreover, which utilises critical education for collective and social purposes. Within the national strictures of ministerial announcements and the steady stream of circulars and letter which indicate new policy directions for universities, it is important to emphasise the plurality of thinking and ideals that characterise education. Adult education is much more than "that which the market will support." And the best argument against the new instrumentalism is by example and practice, and secondly, through openings and opportunities which accompany any contradictory contextual situation such as that presently faced by university and adult education.

The government, for example, is presently, and correctly, increasingly worried about the narrow basis of selection and recruitment of university students. Even though the basis for this concern is the predicted labour market shortage in graduate skills in the 1990s, an important plank of current and future government policy is coalescing with a traditional educational and research specialism within adult education that has reacted against the elitist and undemocratic nature of recruitment within higher education. Working, instead, with the mature student, with "the disadvantaged," with groups in the community, and with trades unionists, liberal adult education has suddenly been rediscovered by its parent university as that area within the university with the skills and links with these wider "access" groups. And it is the "access" relationship which is emerging as one of the pivotal poles within university politics in the U.K.

As indicated in Chapter Two, university adult education is facing increasing pressures to develop vertical individual progression models, either through "training for employment or employers" or individual progress through education. While obviously welcoming the recent attention focused on the issue of access, there is the accompanying danger that narrowly conceived models of access and accreditation will leave untouched the dominant traditional patterns of learning characterising British universities, i.e., an emphasis on the process of **individual** growth and development at the expense of **collective** growth and development. For those adult educators, then, interested in the "social purpose" model of provision, a number of interesting questions and possibilities are posed through the "access" openings. Is it possible, or even desirable, for example, to integrate a critical education for collective social and political purposes, i.e., work, with the TUC Unemployed Workers' Centres, within the mainstream concerns of British universities? The period immediately ahead will provide further evidence and clarification on the future nature and role of university adult education. The outcome of this process will determine the continued possibility of adult educators providing educational and research resources in the development of working class, community-based liberal adult education.

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CHAPTER 9

Community Business Development in Scotland:

Its Relevance to Adult Education

By George Burt

Community Enterprise–a New Direction

Community Enterprises (also called "Community Businesses" and "Community Co-operatives") are developing fast in a number of countries. Community Enterprise is not a new idea, but what seems to be different now is that it is happening during a period of increasing agglomeration and centralisation of economic activity. It also is entirely radical in that community businesses are not working as isolated projects, but are actively combining to become a movement; they are starting to promote and link up with other local self-management initiatives such as housing co-operatives and credit unions. The idea is that eventually an integrated "third economy" (not private, nor public) will operate in a local community.

Such self-management enterprises are characterised by being trading companies that are set up, owned, and controlled by the local community, which is the beneficiary. They achieve their aims by creating jobs and providing local services; any profits are not distributed, but are re-invested to create more jobs and provide additional services, and in general to increase the community's wealth.

A few words on paper don't show the reality; it may look easy, but the problems and frustrations faced by these groups need to be experienced by others for whom life is easy. Despite the difficulties, self-management groups continue to form and flourish (over 150 in Scotland alone, with many others about to emerge).

The catalyst for community business has been unemployment, and it is still true that their main activities are the provision of services and the creation of jobs. But it is as important to realise that the underlying reason (as increasingly seen by people in communities themselves) is not economic development, as such, but local **control** over that development. That is, job creation is a consequence of the desire for self-management, and because of this is preferable in the long run, despite the initial difficulties and slow growth, to jobs imported or generated from outside and over which the community has no control. Community enterprise is thus basically a political question, concerned with empowerment.

This paper describes the characteristics of Community Enterprise, and the lessons we have learned over the past ten years in Scotland. It then goes on to describe the potential and invaluable role of adult education–a potential which has not yet been realised.

Community Enterprise– A Practical Method for Community Economic Development

Community Enterprises provide both a structure and a process for economic and social regeneration in urban and rural areas of high unemployment and poor service provision. More conventional approaches have proved to be ineffective in challenging and improving the fragile economies of these communities. Community Enterprises work because development is carried out in the community, for the community, and above all, **by** the community.

Community Enterprises have these characteristics:

* They are trading companies undertaking commercial work (that is, they are Community **Businesses**) which earn their way.

* They are owned and controlled by the local communities (that is, they are Community **Co-operatives**), which take on responsibility for their own well-being.

* They create jobs directly through their trading activities, both in the manufacturing and service sectors, and also provide facilities and support for individuals to create their own jobs.

* Profits are re-invested locally to create more jobs, or to provide additional services, or to sponsor schemes of social welfare and community benefit.

* They undertake enterprise training for local

people and run government-funded training schemes.

* They are multi-functional and under local control, and therefore: are an effective vehicle for public/private/community partnerships; provide a channel for investment; can target resources where they are most needed; stimulate local economic development; are a catalyst for other local enterprises; can seize opportunities as they arise, that might otherwise be lost.

*** They get things done.**

* Where they have been established, community morale is improved and local people gain confidence, whilst those involved acquire enterprise skills.

A Decade of Community Enterprise

We are now celebrating more than ten years of Community Enterprise in Scotland. In the mid-1970s, a few communities in both urban and rural deprived areas started to consider how they could tackle unemployment locally and by their own efforts.

At first working unknown to each other, these grass-roots initiatives had a fragile beginning. They had little outside support at first, but soon were able to secure special funding from the Highlands and Islands Development Board (HIDB) or the Scottish Development Department (SDD). Targeted development work was carried out by the HIDB and by a pilot project in Strathclyde Region, the Local Enterprise Advisory Project (LEAP).

The growth in the number of trading Community Enterprises has been dramatic in Scotland. Significantly, in the early years most of these community-owned companies were set up in areas served by LEAP or the HIDB; as provision of development support has been extended, it has been evident that local Community Enterprise growth follows:

Growth in Community Enterprise

Year	Trading Companies	Jobs
1978	3	20
1979	9	60
1980	13	140
1981	17	210
1982	26	650
1983	37	820
1984	51	1050
1985	72	1800
1986	92	2650
1987	126	3680
1988	152	5100

In a country of 5 million population and with unemployment in excess of 250,000, it may seem that these jobs would make little overall difference. That is true only in the sense of numbers. In many of these communities, the unemployment rate is over 50 percent, and the Community Enterprise is the largest single employer in the community; this has a powerful local effect.

As the benefit of Community Enterprises has become recognised by local and central government in Scotland, area-based Development Units have been established in almost every region in Scotland; most are funded by the Government's Urban

Programme, with the HIDB contributing substantially in its own area.

The existence of a national representative body, **Community Business Scotland** (CBS), set up by the Community Enterprises themselves in 1981, has been a major influence in promoting growth. CBS is now also engaged in giving back-up support to Development Units and in advising and assisting other areas in the United Kingdom to develop their own Community Enterprises and essential support structures.

Lessons from Scotland

With ten years' experience and over 150 Community Enterprises trading, Scotland leads the way in the U. K. and Europe in this form of community self-help.

Four key lessons have been learned:

(1) Community Enterprises work. They do create permanent self-financing jobs and provide much needed local services, all under the control of the local community, and harnessing its latent abilities and resources. Significantly, they achieve this very often in the worst possible circumstances, where other approaches and forms of investment have failed.

(2) They work because local people take on the responsibility for their own community's development.

(3) They work especially where local and central government have recognised the hopes and needs of local communities and have combined to support these enterprises on an all-party basis.

(4) They work where this support is targeted through a

specialised service, because: Initially, people in deprived communities have no experience of business, lack organisational skills, and thus have little confidence in their ability to undertake major initiatives; Their confidence needs to be built up by a development team which has empathy towards those faced with the processes and problems of setting up a Community Enterprise; The timescale is often an extended one, to allow local people to assimilate management and commercial skills; They require an approach that blends individual, community, and business development and brings together complementary disciplines–other agencies have their own priorities, related very often to narrowly defined objectives, which make them inherently unable to respond adequately to these particular needs of Community Enterprise groups; Differing local conditions require a flexible approach which can only be delivered by area-based, tailor-made, independent Community Enterprise Development Units.

Support Needs of a Community Enterprise

Community Enterprise is more than just a structure for getting things done. It is also a process which communities must undertake. The structure will only work if the process is followed.

In order to set up, own, and control their own business, community groups have to learn skills and acquire resources:

* First of all, there has to be a period of **awareness raising**. People have to be conscious of the condition of their community, how it relates to society as a whole, and what the possibilities are for action.

* This needs to be followed by **promotional work** that seeks

to persuade them that they can actually tackle their own local problems themselves. Their commitment will be the biggest single factor in the success of the enterprise.

* Community Enterprise groups require guidance through the process that leads to setting up their business. Very often this will have to start with developing them as a group, working together and starting to make decisions, whilst making advice available at the right stages about legal structures, financial planning, hiring of staff, and so on. This **development work** has to keep pace with their hopes and skills, and with commercial realities.

* People in these communities lack commercial skills, and many are long-term unemployed. **Appropriate training** gives them the skills needed to set up and control the company; this training has to start from their present level, move at their own pace, and be geared to the actual needs, processes, and problems of their business.

* **Funding** too has to be of the right kind and at the right time. Initially, small "pump-priming" grants of only a few hundred pounds allow community groups to undertake preliminary feasibility studies, visit Community Enterprises trading elsewhere, register the company, and so on. Later, core management funding (both grants and loans) enables the business to develop in its first few years, whilst short-term wage grants geared to training mean that the workforce can become fully productive. These are essentially poor communities, and though local commitment and training are necessary pre-requisites, enterprise cannot be expected to develop in them without resources being made available. Self help needs outside aid to get it started.

* As the Community Enterprise matures and trades commercially, it requires financial and other business advice just like any other firm. This **technical assistance** may often be provided by

conventional agencies, but will continue to require a special approach that recognises the community dimension of its commercial operation.

Delivering the Support

As is evident from experience in Scotland, Community Enterprises do not develop by chance. A carefully structured system of support is required to release the abilities and resources latent in deprived communities.

The essential instrument in the development process has been identified as an independent, specialised, area-based Development Unit, with the sole remit of promoting and supporting Community Enterprises. The advantages of this arrangement are:

* Being independent of local authorities and other agencies, it is unencumbered by bureaucracy and is itself able to act in an enterprising way; it brings together differing interests in the constructive support of Community Enterprises.

* It is geared up to identify and deal appropriately with community groups which lack skills but have commitment. Instead of disregarding such groups (which is their usual experience), they are actively sought out.

* It recruits and trains staff with a mix of community development and business development skills, who are able to relate well to people in these communities and gain their confidence; they will go out into the communities to work on-site with local people, rather than waiting for their customers to seek help from institutions.

* It acts as a channel for investment in Community Enterprises, having the knowledge and expertise to make appropriate decisions about levels and timescales of finance, thus maximising the effectiveness of the investment.

The Potential Role of Adult Education

At all the stages of development of Community Enterprises, adult education should have a key role. It should be the driving force that helps communities initiate their own control over events and then gives them the ability to retain control.

At present, regrettably, adult education often seems to impede progress. It is noticeable that community businesses often flourish in communities where there is little formal education. When these situations are analysed, it is usually found that education **is** taking place, but in ways that find little favour with the educational establishment.

The educators that are successful in this way are sometimes working in the formal education sector, but are at odds with their employers. It is rare to find educational organisations that encourage their staff to work in ways counter to accepted academic practice (for example, seeing the purpose of education as leading to "qualifications"); rarer still would be acquiescence in educators teaching people to challenge the way in which society is organised, and which educational bureaucracies are supposed to uphold.

More usually, though, the radical educators don't see themselves as "educators" (nor would they be recognised as such in formal terms). They are people who have an ability to empathise and communicate with other people in these deprived communities, and that is of far greater importance than technical knowledge and educational qualifications in these circumstances.

But for the Community Enterprise movement to develop, we can't rely on this haphazard way of gaining the education that is necessary. First, let's look at the perceived failings of adult education.

The Failings of Adult Education: With a few isolated exceptions, adult education ignores the idea of community business because practitioners don't see its relevance. That, of course, is not just an internal failing--activists need to persuade educators to become interested.

But even where education is offered to people in poor communities, it is often inappropriate. It is too academic; by that I mean that it is based on the teaching of courses, themselves arising from theoretical categories that are not related to the sequence, needs, and problems of people setting up a project in practice. It is based in institutions alien to the community. It fails to take into account the very lack of formal education that leads people to need adult education; the idea of a "course" itself, with a fixed timetable, means that the differing abilities of people to learn is ignored. It is a whole attitude that is alienating--even professional community education workers talk about people as "clients."

The reasons for these failings are based in the formal education system itself. Adult educators teach in the way they have been taught. Being well educated distances you from the poorly educated; it also means you are better paid and so don't live in the communities you are working in.

The role of the educator should be to provoke people into action, but the approach that is taken provokes them into apathy.

Appropriate Education: What is suggested as appropriate education here may be thought in some cases to have little to do with education. But education must have a purpose, and the purpose cannot be separated from it:

(1) Education has to be seen as a means to an end (that is,

economic self-management). Education for its own sake can come when people are well fed and housed, and have control over their own lives.

(2) Economic self-management is basically a political problem. Education has to prepare people for more than just the technical and organisational skills of running a business. They will require guidance in developing their enterprise as part of a movement, and often in opposition to established and entrenched official attitudes.

(3) People have to be persuaded that community enterprise and its pre-requisite of education is a possibility for them. This means educators undertaking advocacy in communities.

(4) Educators have to go out into communities. It is no good expecting people to travel to colleges that are seen as hostile places. Our experience is that people who would have been frightened to enter forbidding premises, soon gain confidence to cope with these situations if they are allowed to build up that confidence gradually.

(5) The pace of the education must relate to people's own initial knowledge and experience. That means a prolonged involvement with the community group, accepting that learning is likely to be much slower at first than in conventional adult education. It also means **involvement**. Too often a course is run and the lecturer departs. Education is a social activity--you can't throw facts and knowledge at people and then just walk away.

(6) The involvement has to be sensitively controlled. It is all too easy for the educator to become frustrated by slow progress and the need for repetition of discussions, and either to give up or to take over the running of the project. In these circumstances, adult educators should remember that the frustrations and problems they experience are as nothing compared to those gone

through by people in deprived communities.

The Challenge for Adult Educators: This challenge takes two forms, because we have found there are two kinds of adult educators.

Firstly, those based in institutions or agencies should acquire "popular education" skills and carry out at least some of their work in communities themselves, and in line with the need for appropriate education mentioned previously. These adult educators are the ones with technical skills, such as finance, employment law, personnel management, and so on.

Apart from becoming popular educators, the problem for them (as they will probably see it) is that they are usually specialists in a subject (such as marketing). Whilst this may be of use at times, what is really required by Community Enterprise groups is someone who can take them through the entire process, so that mutual confidence is achieved. A probable reaction by the specialists is that they are not able to deal with other subjects; they should realise that it is not a high academic standard that is required and that their knowledge of other subjects will be adequate. Of course, they might just not want to undertake this holistic approach at such a low academic level.

Previous experience of this has not been very successful, but perhaps it was because we were not ourselves very expert at persuading academics to attempt a new style.

Secondly, adult educators with outreach responsibilities and community work skills should be prepared to acquire the technical skills needed to develop Community Enterprise projects. The two main difficulties with this proposal (as already experienced) are that such educators often do not feel that economic development is something they should be involved in (and indeed are sometimes violently opposed to it because of mis-construed identification of such work with private capitalism), and an equally incorrect belief that the techniques of business management are just too difficult for them to acquire.

The first objection can be overcome by making these adult educators aware that the underlying philosophy is about empowerment, and that is certainly a prime role of adult education. As for the second point, if poorly educated people labouring under multiple difficulties can acquire these skills, then well educated professionals should be able to.

We have tried this, and it is generally successful. Of course, the adult educators don't then become successful business managers! But they acquire sufficient skills themselves to bring the self-management group through its initial stages, from just learning to work as a group, to the point where they can deal with confidence with more professional advisors and with enough knowledge to challenge these experts to explain their advice if that is needed.

CHAPTER 10

Recurrent Education and the Labour Market:

Changing Conceptions within Swedish Post-Compulsory Education

By Kenneth Abrahamsson

An Introductory Remark: Adult Education, Employment and Life Chances

The rapid structural transformation towards a post-industrial society causes a lot of stress and insecurity both for individuals and society at large in most industrial countries. High standards of education and an up-dated professional competence have become one of the most important means of ensuring survival both for the individual and the labour force.[1] But, the educational structure in the majority of the high-technological societies is often characterised by an uneven distribution of educational resources and, secondly, visible inequalities. A number of studies show a close correlation between years of formal schooling and life chances in general.[2]

The level of education attained by an individual is also one of the best predictors of further learning progress. Recent Swedish studies confirm this hypothesis by showing that university graduates enroll in in-service training or staff development programmes three or four times more often than unskilled workers. The same kind of social bias exists in the enrolment in both adult education in general and in higher education.

These strong social determinants of an individual's learning attitudes and educational expectations call for more conscious and flexible educational strategies. One of the most difficult problems, not to say contradictions, is to elevate the educational standards and up-grade competence without causing increased educational inequalities between social groups or between different generations. If we want to avoid a divided society, educational policies have to start from general welfare policies. Failure to do so will result in two-thirds of the population with relatively good developmental opportunities, while the remaining one-third falls further behind–with lower incomes, an insecure social situation, and few opportunities for cultural life or active citizenship.

The right to work and the right to learn are two sides of a core comprehensive welfare policy. Educational measures are of crucial importance to the Swedish government's commitment to full employment. Today, unemployment in Sweden is less than two percent, an unusually low figure when compared with most other countries. Denmark has, for example, about ten percent and Norway is now approaching the same high figure as at the end of the second World War, around five percent. And many countries in southern Europe have reached much higher figures.

This chapter will outline some of the features characterising the concerns and objectives informing policy developments within Sweden's post-compulsory education sector. The first section provides background notes on the national system of education.

The second section in the chapter will focus on education and training as part of the policy commitment to full employment. Particular attention will be given to the variety of labour market training initiatives aimed at sustaining full employment, such as personnel education or in-service training. The concluding remarks to this chapter will look towards future developments in the area of recurrent education and the labour market, by posing a number of questions and dilemmas that will require further conceptual clarification.

The Swedish System of Education– A Short Background Survey

The Swedish school system has been radically reformed over the past 20 or 30 years. The level of aspiration has been high, in terms of both quantity and quality. The fundamental idea is that the school system should include all citizens and that youth education should take the form of a comprehensive, integrated school. In principle, all young persons have to complete 11 or 12 years' basic education, after which they should have free access to further education in the form of specialised, vocational educational higher studies. An adequate system of adult education is intended to bridge the gaps between generations and to provide opportunities of recurrent, lifelong education.

Compulsory School: The nine-year compulsory school was introduced in the late 1950s, and expanded in subsequent years. It did not become fully operational throughout the country until the beginning of the 1970s. Since the principle is for all pupils to have the same opportunities of good basic education, Sweden has changed from an educational system characterised by segregation and selection to a comprehensive, integrated compulsory school.

Upper Secondary School: Upper secondary schooling was reformed during the late 1960s and early 1970s, when three distinct forms of high school–gymnasium, continuation school, and vocational school–amalgamated to form an integrated upper secondary school with three-year theoretical and two-year vocational programmes, i.e., study programmes. Upper secondary school is now approaching a third stage of development, in which the two-year vocational lines will be superseded by three-year courses in which a wider programme of theoretical studies will be combined with extramural work experience. All lines of upper secondary school are to confer general eligibility for higher education.

In the mid-1970s, only about 70 percent of pupils went on from compulsory school to upper secondary school. Today, practically all youngsters apply for upper secondary school, and the great majority are admitted. However, the educational choice within the upper secondary schools conforms to a number of distinct patterns. For example, children of manual workers and junior salaried employees tend far more often than children of senior executives to opt for vocational programmes, and the respective choices of girls and boys comply with sexual stereotypes. The transition to higher studies is also much lower in the vocational programmes than the theoretical tracks.

Higher Education: Higher education was reformed in 1968. Further changes, in 1977, created a uniform system of higher education. All post-secondary education in Sweden has now been brought within the higher education system, and given uniform, overall objectives, a single planning system, and a national system of management. Wider admissions to higher education, regionalisation, the creation of general study programmes and single courses, distance teaching, etc., have widened the access to universities to groups other than those previously recruited. Today, adults above 25 years of age are forming a majority of the students in Swedish higher education.

Adult Education: Adult education in Sweden occupies a strong position by international standards. To give some idea of its significance, available statistics indicate that altogether some 50 percent of the national adult population take part in some form or other of adult education in the course of a year.

All adult education organised or subsidised by the state, whether credential or non-credential, is subject to goals of educational policy defined by the *Riksdag*. In summary, adult education in Sweden has the following aims:

i) To bridge the education gaps and promote greater equality and social justice.
ii) To increase the ability of adults to understand, critically appraise, and take part in cultural, social, and political life, and so contribute towards the development of a democratic society.
iii) To train adults for various duties, to contribute towards the transformation of working life, and to help achieve full employment, so promoting development and progress in society.
iv) To cater to individual adult preferences with respect to wider opportunities of study and education, and to provide an opportunity of supplementing the education received in the earlier formative years.

In principle, adult education is open and available to all adults, either as a means of improving their general knowledge of one or more fields or as a means of improving their competence in the community or at work. These studies are often of a wide-ranging, basic character. Above all, they provide people whose youth education was brief and insufficient with an opportunity of raising their general level of knowledge and education.

Different Forms of Adult Education: The traditionally strong position of adult education is partly connected with the large number of mandators or providers. Study circles, for example, are organised by eleven adult education associations whose members have more than fifty different mandators.

The many different mandators operate independently of each other, so increasing the likelihood of a wide and varied range of activities being available to meet the different needs within the adult population. The numerous mandators, as well as their affiliations to popular movements, also provide opportunities for wide-ranging involvement and for widespread, active recruitment to those popular movements.

Since the 1960s, the Swedish authorities have actively supported various forms of adult education, the aim being to bridge educational gaps and provide opportunities for current education. Adult education, as with youth education, has to be organised in such a way as to be generally available to everyone, which means that special resources have to be earmarked for the educationally disadvantaged. The union organisations of manual and salaried workers, LO and TCO, have played an active part in spurring social reform.

Formal adult education: Formal adult education comprises basic education for adults (*grundvux*), which is operated by means of authorities with state grants, and municipal adult education (*komvux*). This type of education would also include basic Swedish language instruction for immigrants. Formal adult education is above all aimed at giving adults a chance of making up for deficiencies in their previous schooling and of qualifying for further studies, for vocational education, or for employment.

Popular adult education: Popular adult education activities, comprising studies at folk high schools or study circles under the aegis of adult educational associations, are partly state-subsidised. To qualify for subsidies, the education has to meet certain general conditions, but otherwise the mandators are at complete liberty to decide the emphases and content of educational activities for themselves.

The abundant variety and generous availability of popular adult education also makes it possible to reach those who would otherwise not be interested in educational activities. Popular adult education has the declared objective of developing basic democratic values in society. This education confers knowledge and skills, but perhaps its main importance lies in strengthening the self-confidence of the participants, increasing their understanding and respect for other people's opinions, and in this way contributing towards the democratisation of society.

Education and Training as a Part of the Policy for Full Employment

Adult education is a many-layered concept. One possible basis of classification is the distinction between credit-awarding adult education, popular education, and personnel education. A fourth type, including elements of both credit-awarding adult education and personnel education, is employment training or labour market education. The section below will illustrate this fourth category of provision within Sweden by illustrating some of the developments underway within this area.

As indicated earlier, education is a strategic part of the commitment towards full employment. Swedish education policy has always been closely linked up with labour market policy. Work for everybody who is willing and able to work is the overriding aim of Sweden's economic policy.

By international standards, Sweden has made considerable progress towards this aim. At the same time, as unemployment is lower than in most other countries, a larger proportion of the population is employed in the open labour market than in any other OECD country.

Sweden's higher level of employment is, above all, due to the high level of economic activity among women. Women's definitive entry into the labour market over the past 20 years has been one of the great Swedish revolutions. At the beginning of the 1990s, there will probably be as many women as men in the Swedish labour force.

In a recent study, the OECD showed that the proportion of GNP devoted by Sweden to labour market policy programmes is no larger than in most other countries.[3] But the profile of resource deployment–the focus of policy–in Sweden is different.

Sweden devotes 70 percent of resources to active measures–placement, training, rehabilitation, and job-creation measures–and 30 percent to cash handouts of various kinds. In most other countries, the reverse applies, with 70-80 percent going on cash handouts and 20-30 percent on measures to help the individual to enter or re-enter the employment sector.

An active labour market policy, then, is no more expensive to the state than a passive one, but active measures help to achieve a higher level of employment and lower unemployment.

High employment and low unemployment in themselves contribute towards a constant up-skilling of the labour force at work. An ambitious employment policy elevates the competence and flexibility of the work-force. But education, of course, is the strategic instrument for disseminating knowledge and competence. Education open to all comers, therefore, is essential to a policy of universal employment.

The demands made on adult education are intensified by democratic developments. The next few years will bring a decline in the numbers of young persons entering the employment sector, women's employment participation rate will come still closer to men's, and there will be a rise in the average age of the labour force. This means that labour resources will have to be conserved. With a smaller amount of new skills being introduced into production, due to the smaller number of young persons entering the employment sector, great importance will be attached to the up-skilling of established employees.

Every year, as a result of immigration, Sweden's population acquires people of different ages with neither Swedish education or Swedish working experience. All this further underlines the necessity of adult education. All immigrants are entitled to a special programme called "Swedish for Immigrants," comprised of one basic unit and one additional course, totalling 700 hours.[4] We already have a situation where the renewal of the labour force through the entry of young persons amounts to merely two percent annually. This growth rate is diminishing with the numbers of young persons–a trend which will have to be offset by increasing educational efforts on behalf of those already in the employment sector.

Towards a Comprehensive Strategy of Adult Education and Employment

As the Minister of Education recently stated,[5] "Thus the need for greater skills and competence in the labour market will mean heavy demands on adult education in future, not only in Sweden but also internationally....Swedish adult education, therefore, is one of our great national assets. There must, however, be more to adult education than the training of the labour force. Adult education also has important tasks with regard to consolidating and developing general civic knowledge, an important consideration not least in the changing society of today and tomorrow. It also has important tasks in relation to individual personal development and a full cultural life, characterised by the extensive and profound involvement of all members of the community."

Before looking at how labour market training developments are attempting to meet the need for greater skills and competence in the labour market, it is worth reiterating the general policy objectives informing adult education in Sweden in relation to employment and productivity. From the Swedish experience, it is clear that unemployment cannot only be treated by ear-marked and target-orientated programmes of employment training. Instead, it is through a combination and variety of educational and social policies which have, as their objectives:

> a) A general elevation of education standards through the development of youth education, upper secondary schooling for all young citizens, as well as a broad provision of higher learning opportunities.
>
> b) A broad stimulation of all adult citizens to widen their horizons and to participate in learning activities through study circles, folk high schools and cultural groups, and on-the-job training programmes.
>
> c) Attempts to design labour market education and employment training for unemployed adults or for employees working in "risky" sectors of working life.
>
> d) A system of renewal education to guarantee learning opportunities through the life span using a combination of legislation for educational leave of absence and a flexible system of study finance.

Thus, the challenge of a changing technology cannot be met by single-minded and too-narrowly-conceived educational strategies. The required response has to be a combined strategy with a broader range of labour market measures and educational initiatives. One of the most important tasks is to counteract illiteracy and provide basic adult education for adults without sufficient skills in reading and writing. Furthermore, it is necessary to help as many as possible from the older generations to supplement lack of theoretical knowledge. This could be done through labour market education programmes or by opening the routes of formal schooling for adults who do not meet the formal requirements.[6]

Even though our policy attention often tends to focus only on adults with short formal education, it is also necessary to stress the need for a diversified system of continuing education for professional groups. Reviewing the Swedish case, it is obvious that public adult education underlines the role of equality of opportunity much more than employer-sponsored programmes, which often are more narrowly oriented towards specific expectations of the workplace. One of the most urgent requirements in the future development of Swedish adult education, as perhaps in other countries, is to broaden employers' sponsored programmes in at least two respects.

Firstly, as adult learning is increasingly being undertaken outside of the workplace, certain attention has to be paid to equality of opportunity and the outreach to adults with short formal schooling. To what extent are the employers willing to invest more money on workers with short formal education? Secondly, it is also necessary to widen the curriculum and pay more attention to general and generic knowledge, due to the over emphasis on job-specific instruction. The rapid change of the production systems to a more knowledge-intensive setting increases the demand for a flexible labour force and individuals prepared to be mobile both within internal and between external labour markets. The core issue is, what role intellectual skills should play in the workplace?[7]

The educational objectives for a working life in transition cannot be limited to the competence level, attitudes, and loyalties of the labour force. It is as important to focus on the wage-earners possibilities to influence and shape both the work environment and the production as such. Trade unions and organisations have played a crucial role in the development of modern Sweden and the creation of the welfare state. The trade unions have also been major actors in designing and influencing adult education policies. Furthermore, they have taken an active role in providing adult education and learning within the unions themselves.

Their educational programmes aim not only at a better preparation for common union activities, but are also concerned with issues of workers' co-determination and influence of production systems. Swedish trade union education is, by international standards, rather extensive. It covers a broad range from basic skills, civic education, economy, organisation theory and practice, and many other subjects up to the higher education level. In contrast with the development in North America, the Swedish trade unions have not chosen to rely on universities and colleges, but have built their own educational routes within their own organisations.

Labour Market Training

Sweden has a very active labour market policy, aimed at sustaining full employment. Labour market training is an important measure for the prevention and solution of unemployment problems. It mostly takes the form of specially organised vocational training, but it can also make use of the regular educational system. The provision of labour market training was reorganised from the beginning of 1986. A new institutional network–the AMU group (AMU is short for the Swedish word for labour market training)–was formed comprising one national coordinating board and 24 county authorities. The AMU group is responsible for around 100 local labour market training centres all around the country. The new organisation should be self-financing according to the principle of customised or commissioned training. In practice, however, the main part of the revenues still come through the National Labour Market Board and its county boards.[8]

The training given at an AMU centre is, generally speaking, at the upper secondary school level. Complete courses lead to a complete occupational training. But there are also shorter courses that supplement earlier occupational training. And, in addition, AMU is also able to tailor a training of any length and depth whatsoever to suit a particular customer's needs. The AMU training can thus vary from one or two days up to a year or more.

The AMU centres are also able to provide education at comprehensive school level in Swedish, mathematics, and foreign languages to students with an inadequate school background. This is an important element in the various forms of training offered by the AMU centres. Without it, the labour market training can never become a route to a job for those with the least favourable pre-requisites.

The AMU centres have been rather successful in developing what is known as the module system. This involves division of the course syllabuses into short competence-based sections. Consequently, training courses can be elaborated individually for each student by combining various elements in the best possible way, both in view of the personal pre-requisites of the individual student and of his prospects of getting a job upon completion of the training.

Central course syllabuses will be drawn up by the central AMU board. The county AMU boards are nevertheless free to depart from these syllabuses, both by deducting and by adding other modules. They are also free to draw up regional experimental syllabuses entirely of their own.

Within the AMU group, the 24 county authorities have a high degree of autonomy. This opens up a potential for development of specialties in different places.

The AMU group has close on 400 central course syllabuses which have been drawn up in consultation with the parties in the labour market. These parties have a responsibility when it comes to ensuring that the training courses offered by the AMU correspond to the needs of working life. The parties are represented on the AMU boards at both the central and regional level.

In-Service Training and Staff Development

Personnel education or in-service training, in the present context, can be defined as that education which concerns employees and is organised on the employer's terms and at his expense. It can also be provided by national and local authorities. Decisions relating to personnel education, then, are made by the employer, but the trade union organisations are able to exert various degrees of influence. Sweden does not have any legislation governing entitlement to or influence on personnel education, but agreements on the subject have begun to develop between the labour market parties.

There is not so much comprehensive information available concerning the extent and variety of personnel education in Sweden. The available statistics on personnel education are generally confined to the type of education conducted in more formal and traditional formats, and do not include all the variety of learning which occurs on-the-job or through more or less organised forms of training, supervision, job rotation, instruction, and study visits.

Labour force sample surveys (AKU) are regularly undertaken in Sweden by Statistics Sweden (SCB), which is a national authority for the compilation of statistics. According to an AKU survey report in 1987, more than one million persons–or just over 25 percent of the employed population–took part in some form of personnel education during the first half of that year.

There are, obviously, great differences between categories of employees. In terms of union membership, 20 percent of LO members, 38 percent of TCO members, and 48 percent of SACO members (SACO being the national organisation of graduate employees) were involved in personnel education. This imbalance becomes even more pronounced if we take into account the duration of education. The already well-educated receive twice as much personnel education as others. The average, per member per year in this respect, is 2.3 days for LO members, 4.3 days for TCO members, and 6 days for SACO members.

The Societal Context for Adult Learning and Employment

The purpose of this chapter has been to present some of the ideological principles of Swedish adult education, with special emphasis on a labour-market perspective.

There are, of course, several other possible ways of describing Swedish adult education to an international audience. One way is by referring solely to the good intentions and the overriding objectives. Another is to describe as exhaustively as possible the goals, content, and participants of the various forms of education. However, it may be appropriate to try and summarise some of the main institutional conditions governing adult education in Sweden before concluding with a brief outline of future concerns.

There are three important, basic conditions which have to be met in order for gainfully employed adults to be able to engage in educational activity of more than a recreational nature. There must be an adequate range of educational opportunities, the individual must be able to finance his or her educational activity, and there must be some form of guarantee concerning leave of absence from work. The paragraphs below will look briefly at each of these three areas.

The state in Sweden has assumed responsibility for all three of these fields, and has tried–by various means–to establish the necessary preconditions of adult educational activities.

Adult Education in All Municipalities: All citizens, regardless of residential locality and social status, have–at least from a formal point of view–equal access to adult education. The creation of municipal and national adult education–a parallel organisation to youth education–gives adults an opportunity of acquiring the same competence and formal qualifications as are conferred by youth education. The direct support given by the state to popular education, in the form of extensive subsidies for both study circle activities and folk high schools, has resulted in popular education being established throughout the country. State subsidies also make it possible for education to be provided at very little charge or none at all.

Educational Finances: Sweden has not opted for a system of paid educational leave, but instead created a variety of social benefits for students. Thus, at all educational levels, the individual first applies for an educational programme and is then able, through various social benefits for students, to obtain coverage of personal expenses. "Study Assistance," consisting of a small grant and a larger loan, is something to which all members of the community are entitled. For gainfully employed adults, in addition, there is special adult study assistance, which is partly income-related and is intended to make up for loss of earnings. Priority is given to the educationally disadvantaged for this latter benefit. This ability to finance studies by means of separate social benefits gives the individual a very free choice of educational form and specialty. In practice, however, student assistance–and the risk of accumulating high loans during the life-span–still is a big obstacle to adult studies for many individuals. In labour market education, you are entitled to a specific grant while most adult students in general adult education have to take the study assistance mentioned above.

Educational Leave: The Swedish legislation guaranteeing entitlement to educational leave underlines individual liberty in the educational situation. All gainfully employed persons are entitled by law to educational leave, without any restriction as regards its duration or the choice of studies.

Studies as Part of the Renewal of Working Life: Adult studies and learning also occupy a prominent position in the reform of working life. The Shop Stewards Act, the Co-determination Act, and various collective agreements entitle trade union representatives to devote time to studies during paid working hours. Just as labour market policy is vitally important to adult education, questions concerning job content and control of working life, as well as the working environment, have a crucial bearing on educational activity and cognitive development. Workplace training in the form of personnel education is, in fact, the sector of Swedish education which has grown most rapidly in recent years. Working life as a setting for educational activities and learning is expected to expand further in the future, partly as a result of the greater emphasis by employers on competence development and learning organisations instead of conventional courses and in-built education programmes.

Adult Education as an Expression of General Welfare Policy: Finally, adult education can be viewed as an important element of general welfare policy. A high level of knowledge and education benefits both the individual and society. In principle, there is no contradiction between efficiency and equality. Opportunities for adult studies and the free acquisition of knowledge must be open to all members of the community.

Seven Policy Missions Towards a Learning Society

Sweden, then, has a working model of adult education characterised by its variety as well as its depth. This is not to say that all the problems have been solved and that genuine educational opportunities have been created for everybody. The concluding points below will identify the problems and difficulties which Sweden, too, is having to contend with, in the form of deficient resources, recruitment difficulties with specific groups, unresolved pedagogical and organisational issues, and, finally, various educational barriers. Listed alongside each of the problems are the policy intentions within adult education which will form the next stage of development within Sweden.

a) What definitions of professional competence and occupational skills have to be developed in order to meet the needs of an increasingly knowledge-intensive production? How could the knowledge span be described both within the production system as such and the necessary knowledge split and specialisation for certain groups? Thus, our first policy mission is the search for good professional competence and occupational skill.

b) How can the curriculum and educational design be constructed in order to build a dynamic interaction between the educational background and chains of job experience of the wage-earners on the one hand and the need for a constructive inflow of new knowledge and new skills on the other hand? To what extent can concepts such as experiential learning or co-operative education be useful in this context? Will future working-life education have space for formal education and training, or should more value be focused on the notion of learning jobs or learning organisations? Our second policy mission reflects the search for good learning contexts for/or at the workplace.

c) Which groups should be given priority in the further education and training of the labour force; the young and formally well-educated or the older worker with a lot of job-experience and tacit knowledge; the corporate executives and leaders, managers and market-making people, administrators and technicians, skilled workers or labourers; men or women; immigrants or native people; full timers, part-timers, or individuals with flexible work schedules; full-time employed persons or those who are unemployed? And what about functionally handicapped persons?

Our third policy mission aims at the search for a set of good principles of how to give priority to different learning goals and target groups.

d) Which educational channels should be used to reach these groups–the formal system of adult education, non-formal provision, or on-the-job learning? Our fourth policy mission summarises the search for good institutional arrangements to facilitate a long-term-oriented upgrading of the educational level, competence, and skill of the labour force.

e) Which learning conditions should be provided for different target groups–relating both to the work and life-schedule and to the life-span as such; learning during working hours, paid educational leave, studies in leisure time; a guaranteed amount of "learning days" during one year or a longer period of time, that could be used on any suitable learning occasion? Our fifth policy mission concerns the search for principles as to how the learning time should be distributed through the working day or week, the working year, and over the individual's total life span.

f) Who pays and who benefits from an increasing investment in adult learning at and for the workplace: public expenditures, trade unions, employers, or the individual? Our sixth policy mission touches upon the search for a good financial set-up between governmental subsidies, employers' investments in education and training, and the learners' own economic contribution.

g) And, finally: how can we assess the value of and the long-term impact of different efforts to develop education and training of the labour force; their function for employment, for job development, for a preparation for structural changes, and for capacity to move within internal labour markets or between external markets? Finally, our seventh policy mission is a search for a set of indicators of performance and research programmes in order to better clarify the volume, content, costs, and impact of the education and training of the labour force.

In drawing a map for the comparative study of adult learning, we should not focus too much on the sunshine or clouds created by public policies or the vitality or shadows from a market-oriented model. A more constructive and forward-looking approach is to see to what extent **adult learning for everybody** is guaranteed in the different systems. More concretely, it is necessary to define learning rights (both for self-directed learning, shorter courses, and longer study projects) in roles as:

> * free citizens taking active roles in the democratic dialogue;
>
> * employees at a workplace with the aim of upgrading his or her professional competence;
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> * critical consumers;
>
> * independent individuals wanting to deepen horizons or fulfil learning dreams of various kinds;
>
> * members of popular movements with the purpose of identifying with collective learning ideals and the transformation of society.

So let us ask ourselves to what extent our systems of adult and continuing education support, neglect, or reject these different learning rights. In all countries, the growth of adult education takes place in working life. This is, of course, both a challenge and a threat. What will happen with learning rights for free citizens and members of popular movements if the employers monopolise the future of adult learning? To what extent will it be possible to support a free sector of citizen-oriented adult learning in the future, as has been done in Sweden with study circles and folk high schools?

Which strategies can be developed to meet the needs of neglected learners beyond the new century? Which strategies are needed today and what can be said of the learning society beyond the time of the "age-shock?" As usual, our impressions and reflections create more questions than answers. Thus, there is a great need for future studies in both mapping the societal context of adult learning and trying to anticipate how the institutional patterns of today will meet the needs of tomorrow.

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1. I am grateful to Eva-Stina Hultinger and Levi Swenningsson at the Swedish Ministry of Education for using joint texts written for the OECD-case study, *The Expending Learning Enterprise: Education and Training of the Swedish Labour Force*. The ideas presented in this article are those of the author and do not necessarily correspond with the policy of the Swedish Ministry of Education or the Swedish National Board of Education.
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Verklighet: En Uppfoljning av 1986 ars Sfi-Eform, *R 89: Rapporter--Planering, Uppfoljning, Utvardering, SO, Stockholm 1989*. It gives a good illustration of the usual gap between ideals and realities. The provision of the basic programme tends to be rather good, although a number of practical problems decrease the access for the relevant groups. Almost one municipality out of three cannot provide the options for further language training. In general, there is still much space for increasing individualisation and adaption to local needs. The evaluation report concludes with a number of suggestions in order to make a more flexible and responsive programme of Swedish for immigrants.

5. See *Bilaga 10 till Budgetpropositionen 1988*, and *Bilaga 10 till Budgetpropositionen 1989*, which are the government's annual bills on education to the Parliament (*Riksdagen*).
6. A recent study in Sweden made a prediction of the educational level of the labour force in 1960, 1986, and the year 2010. During this half-century there is, of course, a rapid decrease of the proportion of the labour force not having nine years formal schooling. The figures are falling from 65 percent in 1960 to 23 percent in 1986 and less than 5 percent in 2010. For more information, see Abrahamsson, K., (1988, ed.), *Det Stora Kunskapslyftet: Swensk Vuxenutbildning Inforar 2010*. Stockholm: Liber Utbildningsforlaget.
7. An interesting discussion of the notion of intellectual skills is given by Kokie, K., (1989), Human Resource Development on the Shop Floor in Contemporary Japan, paper for an OECD Conference on Japanese Employment in the Context of a Changing Economy and Society. Paris: OECD.
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CHAPTER 11

Youth Unemployment in West Europe:

Alternating Training Systems as Responses to Youth Unemployment in Five Western European Countries

By Krista Michiels

Introduction

This chapter is concerned primarily with a research project with the object of making a comparative study of the way in which the transition from school to work proceeds for poorly educated youth in five Western European countries. This study was conducted by the Higher Institute of Labour Studies (*Hoger Instituut voor de Arbeid* or HIVA), a Belgian research institute sponsored by both the *Katholieke Universiteit Lueven* and the labour movement. In recent years, HIVA has been evaluating the position of youth on the labour market as well as specific training and employment projects. In this way, expertise is being developed particularly in the area of what is called "the transition zone between school and work."

The task and the financing of the research came from the Belgian Ministry of Education. The concrete occasion was an experiment that set out to provide training and work experience to poorly educated youth who were still obliged to attend school part-time, in order to increase their chances on the labour market. This experiment, Experimental Part-Time Education (EDO), was assisted by research from the outset in 1984. In the beginning, the research was primarily concerned with determining the profile of the participants and the course of the training and work-experience schemes. At present (1988-89), most of the research attention is focused on the learning and employment effects.

After two years of the experiment, the researchers and the national authorities felt the need to stand back from the concrete events in the EDO project. The idea was to place this project in a broader perspective by comparing it with similar initiatives in other countries, in order to draw conclusions for the Belgian situation on the basis of the experience acquired in other countries.

Thus, an international comparative study was set up. To avoid difficulties, the comparison was limited to the systems in Western European countries. The idea was to have situations that sufficiently differed from each other, but still were sufficiently similar to make comparisons possible. The Netherlands, France, United Kingdom, West Germany, and Belgium are thus the countries in which the story takes place. Knowledge of the respective languages of these countries directly increased the accessibility of the information and also played a role in the choice of research areas.

The research material that served as a basis for the international comparison consisted of literature data from the various countries. No additional investigations were made. This meant that information had to be used in the study that was not completely parallel for all countries. In addition, the data, which were compiled mostly in the course of 1987, did not always reflect the most up-to-date situation.

It was insufficient to compare only the existing training and work-experience systems from the five countries. They also had to be situated in a wider context in which the general position of those under 25 years of age as regards training and work, the rough structure of the training system, and the thrust of the policy on unemployed youth since 1980 were examined per country. Only then were specific systems selected and their development and their effects analysed.

In the choice of the specific systems, schemes were selected in which primarily 15- to 18-year-olds participated and in which an alternating approach (combination of training and work experience) was used, in analogy with EDO. It was noted in the course of the study, however, that also the older age group, the 18- to 25-year-olds, were involved in such systems. It could be that a spontaneous ageing of the participants had occurred, which was favoured by the general extension of the training period and the preference of the employers for somewhat older candidates. Or it could be that the authorities had shifted the age limits and thus plus-18-year-olds also obtained access to the same or similar training and work-experience schemes.

From the observation that alternating systems being tested with 15- to 18-year-olds in the context of unemployed schemes were being shifted to older age groups, the link can be made with adult education and unemployment. So conclusions can be drawn on the utility of alternating systems as a solution for the unemployment of young adults on the basis of the experience of the 15- to 18-year-olds.

The questions remain the same for both age groups, namely: What are the target groups of the alternating systems and do they succeed in reaching them? Do these systems succeed in remotivating their participants? Do they raise the training level of the participants? And do they offer these people a better chance of getting a job?

The content of this chapter deals with these questions in three parts. First, the background situation of the countries is sketched. Then, the alternating systems and their most important effects are presented briefly. Finally, conclusions are drawn that are intended to illuminate in particular the value of alternating systems for young unemployed.

Youth Against the Background of Training, Work, and Unemployment

Recent Development in the Situation of Youth. In the accompanying table (see Table 1), the situation of youth in the 1980s is sketched by means of four aspects. They are the demographic evolution, the schooling figures, the activity rates, and the unemployment rates, which together indicate the positions young people occupy with respect to training, work, and unemployment. Although there are differences between the five Western European countries, global trends and developments typifying the situation of those under 25 years of age emerge from the figures.

First, it is clear that the 15- to 24-year-old group continued to expand until the beginning of the 1980s. From 1985 on, in four of the five countries, a decline in the number of youth commenced. Only in the United Kingdom was their still an increase, but this also slowed down.

Second, the schooling figures continued to rise so that youth in the 1980s remain in school longer. The growing need for further education, the changes in the labour market, and some governmental measures are the reasons why particularly those under 18 go to school longer than previously. The extent to which this happens, however, differs strongly from country to country.

Table 1

The Situation of Youth in the 1980s--Four Aspects

Aspects	U.K.	France	Neth.	Bel.	W. Germany
Youth Population Ages 15-24 x1000:					
1970	8.103	8.346	2.296	1.437	7.712
1975	8.002	8.476	2.303	1.526	8.760
1980	8.863	8.557	2.456	1.586	9.880
1983	9.228	8.587	2.493	1.557	10.327
1985	9.287	8.561	2.504	1.510	19.197
In school at Age 18 in 1982-83:					
Male	17.8%	38.8%	56.3%	44.7%	28.1%
Female	16.8%	50.1%	48.6%	47.7%	33.7%
Activity Rates for Ages 15-24 in 1980:					
Male	74.2%	52.3%	49.4%	na	62.2%
Female	64.2%	43.8%	47.3&	na	53.5%
in 1984:					
Male	73.5%	48.7%	51.1%	na	60.6%
Female	62.2%	40.6%	50.0%	na	52.7%

-continued-

Table 1 - Continued

	U.K.	France	Neth.	Bel.	W. Germany
Unemployment Rates for Ages 15-24					
in 1983:					
Male	22.6%	14.6%	22.3%	20.0%	11.2%
Female	17.6%	22.1%	18.7%	29.7%	11.4%
in 1985:					
Male	20.4%	21.3%	18.0%	17.6%	10.1%
Female	16.6%	27.6%	16.4%	29.7%	11.2%
in 1986:					
Male	19.8%	20.4%	15.2%	14.5%	9.1%
Female	16.3%	25.7%	14.6%	26.4%	11.2%
Both	18.2%	23.0%	14.9%	20.3%	10.1%
Unemployment Rate for All Ages					
in 1986:	10.9%	10.1%	9.8%	10.2%	7.1%
Registered Unemployed Aged 15-24 x1000:					
1980	663	610	128	140	225
1983	1.212	860	320	219	559
1985	1.236	944	286	195	562
1986	1.171	894	249	176	514

Source for Data: *Eurostat, Education and Training*, 1985, and *Eurostat, Employment and Unemployment*, 1987.

Third, all the countries in recent years have seen the activity rates of those under 25 decrease. This means that, at present, proportionally fewer youth are working or find work than was the case a few years ago.

Fourth, in contrast with this, the absolute and relative unemployment figures among those under 25 continued to rise until 1983, and sometimes until 1985. Then, a decline in youth unemployment commenced. This evolution proceeded about equally everywhere, which means that the differences in unemployment rates between the countries remain.

The positive trends in youth unemployment, however, must be interpreted with the necessary caution. For under the pressure of unemployment, it seems that ever more are taking refuge in part-time jobs. However, they mostly continue to look for full-time work and can, in this sense, be considered unemployed, albeit holding part-time positions. But they no longer appear in the unemployment statistics as such.

Another group that is usually omitted from the unemployment figures consists of the participants of all kinds of governmental schemes for unemployed youth. Although one cannot speak of full-fledged employment in most cases, they are no longer included among the unemployed. Their number is constantly increasing.

Finally, the decline of unemployment rates cannot be ascribed to an expansion of the number of jobs. The decline in the number of youths and the further expansion of the schooling degree have reduced the quantitative pressure on the job system, so there is somewhat less competition on the job market for young people.

This better starting position will benefit primarily the youth who will enter the job market in the coming years. Nevertheless, those who became unemployed in the last period and are still unemployed will derive little advantage from it in the short term.

In addition, not all of the young people are or will be confronted with unemployment in the same way. Factors like sex, colour, nationality, social class, personality characteristics, and qualifications obtained determine in large measure the chance of work or unemployment. One who happens to belong to one of these disadvantaged groups has extra difficulty in getting a job and probably will continue to do so in the future.

As noted above, in spite of the parallel developments in the various countries, considerable differences persist. This also applies for the governmental policy with respect to youth unemployment. Therefore, the problem of unemployment youth is presented below by country.

Five Sketches of the Situation of Youth and Youth Policy:

United Kingdom: Compulsory education in the United Kingdom is until the age of 16. After this age, many leave full-time education to enter the job market or to take training, full or part-time, away from school. The actual schooling degree in England is thus particularly low. The unemployment rate in 1986 for those under 25 was 18 percent, which puts Great Britain in the middle of the five countries.

The preceding is concerned with the way in which training is organised. Full-time education is structured in a highly comprehensive manner, and there are few possibilities to get a technical or vocational education in schools. For both basic and advanced training, one must go to institutes for further education or make use of the ever expanding offering of the Training Agency (previously the Manpower Services Commission). The British training system can thus hardly be considered an academic model. Nor is it a dual model. For this, the impact of the apprenticeship system is too small. The so-called third sector, however, occupies a very important place. This third sector exists in private and public institutions organising training for different groups.

The objectives of policy with regard to the transition from school to work are cast in the New Training Initiative of the government. On the one hand, the effort is being made to give a larger place in full-time education to technical and vocational education. On the other hand, one wants to guarantee all early school leavers training and work experience and equip them better for the job market. The Youth Training Scheme (YTS) was set up for this purpose. Thus, primarily training measures are taken for 15- to 18-year-olds, but also for older age groups, as the Youth Training Scheme got a successor for the 18- to 25-year-olds and for all long-term unemployed.

As regards the achievement of the general objectives, it is still too early to evaluate the recent educational experiments in schools. However, it is feared that the approach chosen will generate too strong a categorisation effect, which is certainly not what is intended. At the same time, there is the danger that the expansion of vocational training within full-time education will cause intramural and extramural systems to interfere with each other.

The plan to offer all early school leavers a guaranteed place seems on the way to success. Because of the enormous number of participants, a large part of the group is being reached. However, there remain questions about the way in which this guarantee system is set up. Thus, there are doubts about the quality of the training and about the learning effects that must result from it. At the same time, the status of the young people and, more broadly, also their position as young working people on the job market are strongly affected by the introduction of the present training measure.

France: In France, too, compulsory education ends at the age of 16, although the young people generally stay in school until 18, so that the school attendance for those under 18 is relatively high. Nevertheless, the unemployment rate among the young people is not small; indeed, in 1986, 23 percent of those under 25 who were insured against unemployment were unemployed. This is the highest unemployment rate of the five countries.

The French training system is organised according to the academic model. Vocational education is strongly developed within the full-time schools. In addition, one can also obtain basic vocational training in the apprenticeship system. The advanced vocational training is spread out over a number of organisations and institutions, generally under the supervision of the Ministry of Labour, Employment, and Vocational Training.

With the recently introduced policy in the context of the transition from school to work, the idea is to keep the young people as long as possible and as much as possible in school. This means the improvement of the technical and vocational training and to try to enhance motivation. Second, the objective is to give all young school leavers a guarantee for training and work experience. Not only the professional integration, but all aspects of the life situation of the young people are important here. Thus, in France, the stress is also primarily on training measures, and the evolution is toward an extramural system of alternating training that is becoming ever more differentiated. Alongside the training periods for 16- to 18-year-olds, similar training periods were created for the older age group. In addition, the existing system of special school-work contracts for those older than 18 years old was expanded. In 1986, as a direct wage-cost subsidy, an exemption of the social-security contributions was granted to employers who hire 16- to 21-year-olds. Further, the schemes directed to the creation of permanent jobs for young people are, in a quantitative sense, very limited.

There is little to be said about the educational experiments. In any event, ever more young people are remaining longer in school. But once away from school, the guarantee system does not succeed in reaching a sufficient number of school leavers. The most difficult target groups are, nevertheless, reached; but they end up in the poorest training systems. As a whole, it turns out that the alternating concept is difficult to put into effect, and the employment effects are dubious over the longer term.

The Netherlands: In the Netherlands, compulsory education extends to the age of 16, after which follows one year of partial compulsory education. Mostly, young people remain in school until the age of 18. In addition, in 1986, 15 percent of those under

25 of the labour force were unemployed.

The organisation of vocational training is done in the Netherlands according to the academic model. Full-time vocational education and the new KMBO are the two most important ways in which young people obtain a basic vocational training. In addition, there are also part-time variants. The part-time KMBO is an attempt to integrate the training from the apprenticeship system and from the day-release courses, certainly in the future. There are also the initiatives taken by Social Affairs and Employment. They offer to young people and adults a second chance to obtain vocational and technical training.

On the policy level, at present it is primarily stressed that all young people must have the chance to acquire initial vocational qualification (on the apprenticeship level). Therefore, a great deal of attention is given to the expansion of the KMBO and the maintenance of the apprenticeship system, which pick up potential early school leavers.

In addition, the authorities are committed to provide a so-called guaranteed place in the collective sector for all under-20-year-olds without training or work. After this temporary job, the flow-through to regular work should be easier. An expansion of the regular job- and training-circuit is also provided for.

Thus, both training measures (consisting of the expansion of training positions and a supplementary but alternating educational training) and job-expanding measures are proposed to the young people.

As regards the training measures, it seems that the quantitative expansion of the apprenticeship system has succeeded. But this has negative repercussions on the status of the apprentices and also endangers, in a sense, the quality of the apprenticeship jobs. The KMBO is still struggling with insufficient capacity. The results on the qualifying level are good here, and the flow-through to the labour market also seems to be favourable.

In the past, job-expanding measures rarely have had brilliant results. The conflict between the choice for poorly educated groups and the obtaining of good results on the labour market has played a role here. This is one of the reasons why one may fear for the impact of the recent guarantee plan. Moreover, it is expected that both the quantity and the quality of the guarantee jobs will turn out to be insufficient.

Belgium: In 1983, Belgium extended compulsory education. Since then, young people have to go to school full-time until 15-16 years old and then at least part-time education is compulsory until the age of 18. This amendment to the law changed little in the situation, since the majority remained in school until the age of 18, anyway. However, young people have difficulty in finding a job once they leave school or in keeping a job; in 1986, 20 percent of those under 25 years of age in the labour force were unemployed.

The Belgian vocational training system is a model of the academic approach. Certainly the basic education, but also a large part of the advanced vocational education, is given in well-developed technical and vocational schools. The apprenticeship system is smaller in scope and is rather independent. The third sector has recently been gaining in importance, particularly through the expansion of the activities of the State Employment Service.

Among the recent policy options for the transition from school to work is, in the first place, the extension of compulsory education. From the reasoning that it would be difficult simply to keep all young people in school, attention is also given to the reform of vocational education. This was expressed in the concrete in the renewal experiments in vocational secondary education and in the experiments with part-time education. The latter training measure in particular was paired with an effort to expand the number of training positions for young people, which was also important in the framework of the new industrial apprenticeship system. These kinds of alternating training systems, moreover, are being propagated more and more for the older age group. The conclusion of training-work contracts for 18- to 25-year-olds in the context of Royal Decree No. 495 is an example of this. In addition, there are always the job-expanding measures, which traditionally enroll many young people. They offer generally temporary, but sometimes permanent, employment with incomplete job status. Since 1986, however, the total number of these jobs has been declining.

As regards the training measures within education, it is clear in any case that the degree of schooling is continuing to rise. Only a small group of young people makes use of part-time compulsory education. The educational renewals were still insufficiently evaluated to be able to speak of an effective improvement of quality.

The efforts to obtain expansion of training positions for young people in training situations are encountering considerable difficulties, certainly for the 15- to 18-year-olds. For those over 18, the time is not yet ripe enough to draw any conclusions. The flow-through from training positions to the regular labour market also remains questionable for the moment.

The effect of job-expanding measures, which are declining as regards participants, is also unknown. Whether or not the chance of employment increases with them, therefore, is obscure.

West Germany: In West Germany, compulsory education extends to 15 or 16 years of age, depending on the state, after which there generally follows a three-year part-time compulsory education. The degrees of schooling diverge strongly, depending on whether or not one counts participation in the Dual System. In the first case, from 85 to 90 percent of the 17-year-olds and 75 to 85 percent of the 18-year-olds still attend general or vocational education. If those in the Dual System are not considered, then the degrees of schooling drop to 40 to 50 percent for the 17-year-olds and even to 25 to 35 percent for the 18-year-olds. In general, the unemployment rate for those under 25 is about 10 percent, which is the lowest figure for the five Western European countries. Within this group, those older than 20 years of age are relatively more unemployed than those less than 20 years of age.

The German vocational training system is known particularly for its dual approach. In order to participate in vocational training, one can go to full-time schools. But the majority of the young people make the transition from school to work via the Dual System (apprenticeship system). In 1985, 63 percent of the 16- to 19-year-olds were being trained in this system. This means that they will go to school part-time along with their working (apprenticeship) assignment. So the Dual System is anchored in the educational structure. As representative of the third sector, alongside education and the apprenticeship system, the *Bundesanstalt fur Arbeit* has a great deal of influence on vocational training of young people. In addition to orientation and placement, this public institution also has its own training programmes.

Because of the central place the Dual System occupies in the transition from school to work, the governmental policy is primarily concerned with eliminating the bottlenecks in the operation of the Dual System. In the period from 1970 to 1980, a quantitative discrepancy emerged between the supply and the demand for training positions. The government reacted with a tenth training year in order to keep those without work or training in school longer. In addition, attempts were made to increase the capacity of the Dual System.

In the 1980s, new training measures were taken, this time on the basis of a more qualitative approach. Thus, "problem" groups received special attention in the *Benachteiligtenprogramm*; a special programme was created for girls in technical trades, and the attempt was made to offer the new technologies in vocational training. With this the focus remains primarily on the first transition threshold, from school to vocational training. Only recently has attention turned to the difficulties in obtaining a stable job, and measures such as wage-cost subsidies have been introduced.

In the past, the Dual System has adequately demonstrated its value as transition channel between school and work. Nevertheless, a number of inadequacies in the training system have come to light. By the efforts of the companies and the establishment of company-coordinating centres, partial success has been obtained in satisfying the great demand for training places. But at the same time, the participants have changed. They are older now, and have had more schooling. Because of this, weaker groups of young people have difficulty in getting a training place, although the *Benachteiligtenprogramm* does succeed in facilitating their entry. The flow-through from the tenth *Bildungsjahr* year proceeds less well. This reduces this training year to a reception system for those without a training position. It offers few further opportunities and even has a stigmatising effect.

Alternating Training Systems: An Evaluation of Effects in the Transition from School to Work

From the entire series of governmental measures, initiatives, and projects in the various countries, ten alternating systems were finally chosen. Two systems were selected from each country, in which the young school leavers generally end up once they have left ordinary full-time education.

What this came down to is that, first, the existing apprenticeship systems were selected, being systems that have acquired a fixed place in the vocational training system. Second, new initiatives were chosen that have played a role since the beginning of the 1980s in the transition from school to work.

In the following schema (see Table 2), the ten alternating systems are described briefly in terms of a number of themes. It is hoped that these descriptions will provide enough information to be able to understand the evaluation of the effects of these systems.

Table 2

Information on Ten Alternating Training Systems

YTS (United Kingdom):

Purpose: labour-market oriented vocational training;

Target Group: 16- and 17-year old school leavers, no training without a job;

Programme: mostly work experience combined with 20 weeks training in two years;

Objective: own certificate, preparation for national exams;

Status of Participants: sometimes employee but generally trainee;

Sponsor: Labour and Employment (Training Agency);

Number of Participants and Evolution: 300,000 per year, further increase expected;

Target Group Coverage: too few foreigners, better qualified in better projects;

Experiences Programme: hierarchy in the projects dependent on nature of work experience; work experience generally production and job oriented; little relationship between components;

Motivation Evaluation: 80 percent see system useful, work experience more than off-the-job training;

Learning Effects: 25 percent increase qualification level;

Employment Effects: 66 percent working; 34 percent unemployed (3 months after leaving programme).

Training Periods (France):

Purpose: vocational training for qualifying;

Target Group: 16- and 17-year-old school leavers, poorly educated and without a job;

Programme: 50 to 70 percent work experience combined with 50 to 30 percent training in an average of 6 to 12 months;

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Table 2 (continued)

Objective: access to exam (CAP-level 5);

Status of Participants: trainee of vocational training;

Sponsor: Labour, Employment, and Vocational Training;

Number of Participants and Evolution: 40,000 per year, first increase, then decline;

Target Group Coverage: poorly educated groups reached well, but flow-through of weakest within the projects is not smooth;

Experiences Programme: hierarchy in projects; work experience generally a low educational character; alternating pedagogy not achieved;

Motivation Evaluation: overall positive judgment of the work experience;

Learning Effects: 15 to 20 percent obtain CAP;

Employment Effects: 30 percent working; 70 percent unemployed.

KMBO (The Netherlands):

Purpose: general social, vocational, and flow-through qualification;

Target Group: 16- to 19-year-old, group that can or will not enter the existing training schemes and not on the labour market;

Programme: mostly training combined with training periods (alternating or in block) for 2 to 3 years;

Objective: own certificate, level primary apprenticeship;

Status of Participants: student;

Sponsor: Education and Science;

Number of Participants and Evolution: 20,000 per year, further increase because too little capacity;

Target Group Coverage: too few poorly educated, elimination of threshold not achieved at first sight;

-continued-

Table 2 (continued)

Experiences Programme: work experience generally too limited in content; little relation between intra- and extra-school learning;

Motivation Evaluation: positive perception of training (mostly vocational practice) and of work experience;

Learning Effects: 78 percent obtain full certification;

Employment Effects: 57 percent working; 43 percent unemployed.

EDO (Belgium):

Purpose: general education and vocational training, for introduction to trade and society;

Target Group: 15- to 18-year old, school fatigue, part-time compulsory education, who leave full-time education;

Programme: 2 days training, possibly combined with 3 days work experience each week, for a maximum of 4 years;

Objective: own certificate;

Status of Participants: partially student, partially employee or work-seeking;

Sponsor: Education;

Number of Participants and Evolution: 4,000, slow increase;

Target Group Coverage: in addition to original target group (school fatigued) also to the work-oriented with a better school career;

Experiences Programme: insufficient work-experience places; work experience in general of a low educational character; no true alternating, sometimes even no content relationship;

Motivation Evaluation: 80 percent positive, first work experience then general and then vocational training;

Learning Effects: no qualification increase;

Employment Effects: no data.

-continued-

Table 2 (continued)

Benachteiligtenprogramm (West Germany):

Purpose: qualifying training (vocational and general) for introduction to the labour market;

Target Group: 16 and older (after 10th school year), those who have no chance in the Dual System, particularly early school leavers, socially disadvantaged, foreigners;

Programme: 1st year–mostly training with minimum 4 weeks work experience; then stress on work experience, always possibility of remedial and socio-pedagogical assistance, 3 to 4 years;

Objective: Dual System certificate;

Status of Participants: apprenticeship with training compensation;

Sponsor: Education and Science;

Number of Participants and Evolution: 26,000 in 1985-1986;

Target Group Coverage: in addition to original also expanded target group (girls, better educated who do not find a place in the Dual System);

Experiences Programme: transition to Dual System not so smooth because of tense training market; project-oriented approach is motivating and the socio-pedagogical assistance has demonstrated its utility;

Motivation Evaluation: no data;

Learning Effects: 66 percent obtain certificate;

Employment Effects: of those passed–73 percent working; 27 percent unemployed.

Apprenticeship (United Kingdom):

Purpose: vocational training on the job;

Target Group: 16- and 17-year-old school leavers, no upper limit;

Programme: 4-day work experience and 1-day training each week, normally for 4 years;

-continued-

Table 2 (continued)

Objective: own certificate in the future, preparation for existing exams;

Status of Participants: employee (with percentage of wage of skilled worker);

Sponsor: Labour and Employment;

Number of Participants and Evolution: decline and partial inclusion in YTS;

Target Group Coverage: no data;

Experiences Programme: attempt to improve dexterity training;

Motivation Evaluation: no data;

Learning Effects: no data;

Employment Effects; no data.

Apprenticeship (France):

Purpose: vocational training on the job, qualification oriented;

Target Group: 16- to 25-year-old no longer subject to compulsory education;

Programme: three-fourths work experience and one-fourth training, 2 to 3 years;

Objective: preparation for existing exams (CAP-level 5);

Status of Participants: employee (with variable percentage of minimum wage and child benefit);

Sponsor: Labour, Employment, and Vocational Training;

Number of Participants and Evolution: 225,000 current contracts, slight decline;

Target Group Coverage: generally good, but very few girls and probably aging of public in future;

Experiences Programme: training portion is increased and also projects to improve the quality;

Motivation Evaluation: many cancellations;

Learning Effects: 42 percent pass CAP exams;

-continued-

Table 2 (continued)

Employment Effects: small percentage remains with company.

Apprenticeship (The Netherlands):

Purpose: vocational training for qualifying, practice oriented;

Target Group: 16- to 27-year-old, mostly from LEO, MAVO, HAVO;

Programme: 4 days work experience and 1 day training each week, for 2 years;

Objective: own certificate, level primary apprenticeship;

Status of Participants: employee (with training wage equal to legal minimum wage);

Sponsor: Education and Science;

Number of Participants and Evolution: 78,000 current contracts, first a decline but now another increase;

Target Group Coverage: generally good, but still few girls and trend to older and better educated participants;

Experiences Programme: development plan to improve quality of training; separate training places to enhance quantity and quality, which may endanger school-work correspondence;

Motivation Evaluation: positive perception of training (mostly vocational practice) and certainly of work experience;

Learning Effects: 65 percent obtain certificates;

Employment Effects: 87 percent working; 13 percent unemployed.

Apprenticeship (Belgium):

Purpose: training for employees in small and medium size companies, preparation for management training;

Target Group: 15- and 16-year-old, after compulsory full-time education, no upper limit;

Programme: 4 days work experience and 1 day training each week, maximum of 4 years;

Objective: own certificate;

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Table 2 (continued)

Status of Participants: apprentice (with apprenticeship wage and child benefit);

Sponsor: Middle Class, Education;

Number of Participants and Evolution: 23,500 current contracts, slight increase;

Target Group Coverage: generally good, but here, too, girls in minority and slight rise in age;

Experiences Programme: training programme adapted in function of extension of compulsory education; work experience sometimes too simple and too productive;

Motivation Evaluation: very positive on work experience, divided on training; 40 percent cancellations per year;

Learning Effects: 80 to 90 percent pass final exams, only 50 percent go on to management training;

Employment Effects: number of unemployed from learning period has increased.

Apprenticeship (West Germany):

Purpose: vocational training for qualifying on the job;

Target Group: 15- and 16-year-old after compulsory full-time education, no upper limit;

Programme: 2 to 3 days work experience and 1 to 2 days training each week (also block system), 2 to 3 years;

Objective: own certificate after final exams;

Status of Participants: apprentice (with percentage of wage of skilled worker);

Sponsor: Education and Science, Labour and Employment;

Number of Participants and Evolution: 1,831,000 contracts in 1985, increase from 1983;

Target Group Coverage: stagnation and decline of traditional groups for better educated and older groups, girls and immigrants clearly have less of a chance;

-continued-

Table 2 (continued)

Experiences Programme: work on basic qualifications to enhance the labour mobility of the young people; strive for better tuning between school and firm; enhance the quality of the jobs (by new ordering of trades;

Motivation Evaluation: limited satisfaction over selected trade; only 15 percent would make the same choice again; 1 in 7 cancellations with new contract;

Learning Effects: 90 percent of candidates pass final exams; this is about 80 percent of the total number of participants;

Employment Effects: 88 percent working; 12 percent unemployed.

The Coverage of the Alternating Systems: First of all, it is striking that the apprenticeship systems all aim at a wide, little specified group. The minimum age for entry coincides with the end of compulsory full-time education. The maximum age is high, or no upper limit is set. Further, almost no other characteristics are postulated. There may be some formal stipulations regarding the educational level. Thus, the apprenticeship systems are not very selective with respect to their candidate-apprentices.

This certainly applies to a lesser degree for the new systems where the target groups are more strictly defined. The group that comes in consideration for participation is generally more limited as regards age. But it must be taken into account that parallel systems have been set up in France, Great Britain, and Belgium precisely to reach the older age group. In this regard, the difference with the apprenticeship systems is thus not so very great. The distinction is sharper where the new systems describe their target groups with additional characteristics. The *KMBO* and the *Benachteiligtenprogramm* do this the most explicitly because they aim at a group that finds no place in other training and work systems. In Great Britain and France, faulty preliminary training and the lack of a job are presented as important participation criteria. For the Experimental Part-Time Education, only the leaving of full-time education, which assumes a certain form of school fatigue, is indicated as an additional characteristic. The fact that the new systems more strongly delimit their target groups, although this does not take place in the same way everywhere, indicates that they were created because of the concrete emergency situation of these groups. As such, they can justify their own place as a new system.

After the formulation of the target groups, there naturally arises the question of the degree to which the training systems actually reach these groups. For the apprenticeship systems, the same observation can again be made on this level. By their openness, it is difficult to say whether the reached public is precisely the one that belongs in apprenticeship systems. But, it is striking that: first, female apprentices are generally strongly under-represented; and second, in the Netherlands, France, and West Germany, an evolution towards older and better educated entrants is in progress. Because of this, the traditional participant groups are pushed aside to a degree.

It looks as though it is precisely this last group that is being thrust into the new systems, where it should enter together with other poorly schooled people. At first sight, the new systems also succeed satisfactorily in reaching these participant groups. The share of girls is somewhat higher than in the apprenticeship systems. But, upon closer examination, each of the systems still is confronted with its own inadequacies. These deficiencies point to the same direction: reaching the weakest groups among the poorly schooled still is a problem. Either they are bypassed already at entry by better situated groups who do not really belong to the original target group, or they get the worst of it when the training positions are assigned and end up in the poorest projects.

The Training and Work Experience: The lack of evaluation studies on the training process in the apprenticeship systems makes it impossible to make any comparative statements about it. However, it may be noted that attempts are being made in all the countries to improve the quality of the off-the-job training. Apparently, deficiencies are perceived that must be worked on. The same can probably be said about the quality of the work-experience places. On the basis of general criticisms, the too simple and productive character of the work experience can be questioned here. The development of separate learning places is to be situated in this perspective, but it must also compensate for the shortage of real work-experience places.

The new initiatives also have to do with a lack of good work-experience places. This is the clearest in the EDO, because not every participant has the opportunity to acquire work experience. In the other systems, these problems are, perhaps, not felt so keenly. But the observation that there is a hierarchy of projects in which the working conditions, circumstances, and content are the most important criteria, allows one to suppose that one must be partially content with inferior solutions because of the too-tight market in work-experience places.

More generally, for each of the new systems, the content of the work experience is criticised, in which either its too strongly productive and job-oriented character or its too limited and too elementary content are blamed.

Another general criticism concerns the alternating character of the programme. In four of the five new systems, something seems to go awry in the interaction between learning and work experience. These training initiatives thus can certainly not be considered as the ideal project of alternating learning. With these kinds of experiences there arises the question of the appropriateness and practicability of alternating work-training projects for the poorly educated.

Learning and Employment Effects: On the level of the evaluation by the participants, the apprenticeship systems are remarkable for their lack of evaluation data. For the Netherlands and Belgium, the very positive perception of the work-experience situation can be put forward as a common point.

The new systems seem to be somewhat better studied in this respect, but the general observation is ultimately the same. Notwithstanding the criticism that was expressed above on the work-experience places, the young people are extremely satisfied with this practical experience. The appreciation of the off-the-job training is not always as high.

The learning effects of the training systems can, for lack of other evaluation data, only be derived from the degree in which young people succeed in qualifying. Then there is still the problem of the difference between systems with a direct and indirect finality. The apprenticeship systems, all of which postulate the qualifying of their participants, score differently as regards qualification increases. In France, not even half succeed. In the Netherlands and certainly in West Germany and Belgium, higher percentages are reached. But the Belgian experience shows that account has to be taken of the group that leaves apprenticeship before the final examinations.

In the new systems, the learning effects are also not so univocal. The *KMBO* and the *Benachteiligtenprogramm*, systems which stress training and qualifying, obtain relatively good results. However, this does not apply for the French training periods, even though it is also a qualification-oriented system--but one with an indirect finality. The British YTS also does not do it brilliantly, and in Belgium, the possibility of qualification increase is not built in. Thus, this last series of results, as regards learning effects, is hardly encouraging.

Perhaps, things are different for the employment effects. Here, too, there is a grave shortage of good follow-up data. The available information on the apprenticeship systems in the Netherlands and West Germany nevertheless give the same positive results, but they have to be interpreted in relation to the youth unemployment figures per country.

As regards the employment effects of the new systems, certainly the *Benachteiligtenprogramm*, and also the YTS and the *KMBO*--both in countries with higher youth unemployment--

seem to score well. The French training periods are strikingly poorer in this respect.

Possibilities of Alternating Systems in the Approach to Youth Unemployment

Possibilities for the 15-18 Year Old: To the four initial questions on the effects of alternating systems in the transition from school and work, the following answers can be given on the basis of the literature.

Which young people are reached in the school-work systems is, in the first instance, dependent on the target-group limits determined by the system itself. But with a broader as well as a more selective choice of target groups, the danger of displacement is great. Stronger groups gain priority over weaker groups because of certain characteristics like sex, previous training, and nationality, because labour market mechanisms continue to operate when it is a matter of the acquisition of jobs in the alternating systems. Entrance criteria that select disadvantaged groups among the youth are still inadequate when the ultimate selection for the work experience is with the employer.

The motivation of the participants does not seem to be a major problem for the alternating systems, at least as far as work experience is concerned. The presence of a training position (whatever the content of the work may be) is primarily for the young people. The training portion often corresponds less to the direct needs of the participants. In this regard, it is important that working and learning be linked to each other because then there is more opportunity for the young people to grasp the utility of the accompanying training.

What they actually learn in the alternating systems is not so clear. Judging from the often limited content of work experience, the pedagogical value of the work experience must often be questioned. Further, the qualifying results differ. Depending on the nature of the system, young people apparently have more or less of a chance of reaching a higher training level. Because of the limited preliminary training of most of the participants in the alternating systems, however, it is essential that good qualifying opportunities be built in. Obviously, the certificates must have value on the labour market.

The labour-market chances after participating in alternating systems differ as much as do the qualifying rates. Whether or not one finds a job more easily depends on the nature of the system, but also on the traits of the young person and the receiving capacity of the labour market. The transition from alternating systems to the regular job circuit in any case is not automatic. Again, there is a selection whereby the weaker individuals again have the most difficulties in finding work.

Conclusions for the Older Unemployed: The previous conclusions concern particularly systems in which the majority of the participants are between the ages of 15 and 18. In the meantime, some countries–Great Britain, France, and Belgium–have set up continuation systems for older participants, who often have been longer away from school and have already had a period of unemployment. What conclusions apply also for these new target groups? And what effects will this have for the development of the new systems and the policy in their regard?

Typical for the alternating systems is that the entry of participants is largely determined by the firms that provide the training positions. Normally, it should then be simpler for the somewhat older unemployed to find a work experience place. But at the same time, a longer period of unemployment is to their disadvantage. All in all, what must be avoided is that only employer criteria determine the recruitment and thus the participation in the work-learn project. Displacement mechanisms also continue to play a role in the group of 18- to 25-year-olds when no attention is given to entry criteria.

Moreover, it must not be forgotten that it is often the same firms that give training positions to both those under and those over 18 years of age. In this way, the two groups come in competition with each other and eventually this is to the disadvantage of the younger candidates. An additional aspect is that a number of school leavers, who already were in an alternating system before they were 18, do not find a job at the transition to the labour market and end up again in an alternating system. So one has participants whose career consists of joining school-work systems.

All of this makes it important to stipulate clearly beforehand the groups of unemployed that have access to the alternating systems and then to be careful that precisely these groups are reached. It seems obvious for social reasons to give priority to those unemployed who, because of a deficient or misdirected schooling, have the least chance of getting a job by themselves. However, this is the group that is less attractive for industry so that one collides with economic rationality.

In order to motivate the unemployed to participate in alternating systems, the work experience comes in the first place. Since older participants are involved here, still higher demands have to be made on the quality of this work experience. When this does not actually happen, motivational problems develop among the participants and a number of individuals leave the programme prematurely. The motivation for the training portion is often an even greater problem for the 18- to 25-year-olds. In the first place, they want to work, and training makes sense to them only if it really does provide a better chance to get a job. In the alternating systems, it is often not clear what vocational oriented training and what general education benefit the participants the most.

The importance of good qualification opportunities, nevertheless, remains very great for the 18- to 25-year-olds. Certainly when alternating systems are aimed at the least schooled among them, the period of training and work experience must lead to an additional qualification. This last modality, however, is not always built into the existing systems.

Special attention has to be given to the status of the unemployed who participate in the alternating systems. For those under 18, one can make allowances for apprenticeship status. For the older unemployed, the constant undermining of their social status may not be continued. In alternating systems, they do perform some productive labour, and they must be adequately paid for it. Companies that only want to get cheap labour do not belong in an alternating system. Nevertheless, under the present circumstances, exceptions are readily made, even to the point that the participants retain their unemployed status and only receive their benefits. Thus, the unemployed become cheap labour and, in their turn, displace those with a normal job status.

It is realistic to assume that the transition from alternating system to the labour market is not streamlined for the 18- to 25-year-olds, either. When these unemployed have acquired practical experience in a particular company in the private sector, they will often have to look elsewhere for a job as the company will replace them with other unemployed people. Hopefully, their working experience at that moment is broad enough in content so that it can be used in other companies. When the unemployed are placed in a public sector organisation, this can mean for them that fewer requirements are placed for entry, but the flow-through opportunities within the public sector are rather limited. Therefore, ideally, assistance should be provided at the end of the work-experience period; a qualified agency should help the participants in the alternating systems' search for a definitive job (or further training). This can be done, of course, only when the project has relatively few participants.

The policy around alternating systems must see to different aspects if the unemployed are to be given more chances on the labour market. A clear choice for the more difficult groups takes priority. Then, the quality of work experience and training, the objective, a good social status, and assistance for flow-through have to be assured. Proper to the alternating systems is that conflicts arise on a number of levels between economic interests and the interests of the unemployed in the system. This certainly occurs when the most poorly educated groups are chosen as the target public, and the alternating systems are considered as a training channel (for initial training) and as an entry channel for the labour market. Still another function can be given to the alternating systems, namely that of a reschooling channel through which the unemployed with an inappropriate training are redirected.

Major problems that cannot be easily resolved are displacement, rotation, and obligatory participation, which accompany the establishment of alternating systems.

For the displacement processes, we have already referred to the competition between participant groups in and between the alternating systems. Moreover, a replacement of ordinary labour by the unemployed is difficult to avoid.

Rotation phenomena were observed on both the individual and the company level. Participants shift from the one system to another. Companies keep filling the same number of practice positions with other unemployed people.

Finally, we have not mentioned obligatory participation with which the unemployed are confronted in some countries. Although they ask for work, in many cases they have to participate in programmes where a training portion is imposed on them in addition to work experience.

The first experiences with alternating systems indicate that there are many problems that are difficult for the national authorities to deal with. The trend to promote alternating systems as one of the solutions for the young unemployed must be seriously questioned.

A Year After the Conference

As the introduction to this volume explains, this book is based on contributions originally presented at an International

Conference on Adult Education and Responses to Unemployment at Oxford, England, organised by the editors in 1988. After reading this chapter again a year after the conference, we can formulate re-considerations regarding the position of alternating training systems when dealing with unemployment. In this context, the changing situation of the labour market is important. The decline of the unemployment rates has progressed further in most countries and has changed the nature of the present-day and future unemployment issue. It is no longer the massive unemployment, nor the youth unemployment, which have to be considered as the greatest obstacles. Instead, the long-term unemployment of a quantatively limited group of adults has arisen as the most significant problem. Action and research have therefore been re-orientated.

At the Higher Institute of Labour Studies, the following concept is being elaborated. The group of long-term unemployed is characterised by a remarkable heterogeneity. This is revealed by the fact that several categories can be distinguished with a different chance of employment-finding and placement. Measures concerning unemployment and the training of unemployed should take this into account. Otherwise, a risk exists that these measures will only reach "the best" of the group and merely improve the economical objective. To also realise social objectives, other and also complementary activities are necessary. These activities can have different outlines in the sense of intensive employment-finding on an individual level using an instrumentarium of employment stimulating measures, supervision and support of job-seekers, motivating training, and orientation activities linked to preparation for further training, learning, and working projects. Again, the idea of the alternating training systems arises, although in a different context than the transition from school to work.

Different courses can be sketched for the different subgroups of long-term unemployed. The first category, which can be considered likely or almost likely to find employment, is mainly in need of short interventions, in which they can be referred on to training and employment. For this category, mainly employment-finding initiatives must be set up.

The second category, which can be considered less likely to find employment, is in need of more than a mere reference. In the first phase, they require activation, motivation, and orientation, before they are able to enter the second phase of employment-finding or training. This first phase could be provided by adult education which traditionally works with these groups.

The third group of long-term unemployed, who have extreme difficulties with employment-finding, gains the most from initiatives with an own finality. For this category, an implementation in adult education is best suited. By taking action on a local level, a number of unemployed can be temporarily or permanently mobilised in projects with a training and a work component. Naturally, this is a different approach than in the large alternating systems for youngsters. Here, the emphasis must be more on employment directly associated with the often lower level of education and the limited knowledge and skills. A training and education can also be provided, but only one given in a direct and relevant manner. The status and income of the participants in these projects are very important. It would not be realistic to assume a massive involvement of trade and industry as far as the labour component is concerned. Therefore, on a local level, and with the help of socio-cultural centres, the employment must be realised in a more alternative manner. In any case, the projects will be more labour-intensive and will book less quantitative results.

With this, we have given a broad outline of how a policy can orientate itself towards long-term unemployment and of the position the alternating systems and adult education can take in this context. Future research must fit in with this, by in the first place acquiring a more concrete insight on the disposition of the long-term unemployed population, and, furthermore, by verifying if the proposed re-orientation, employment, and training measures can fulfil the needs of this group.

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CHAPTER 12

Conclusion:

Education and Training Policies-- Future Challenges for Educational Institutions, Employers, and Trade Union Organisations

By Keith Forrester and Kevin Ward

As Johnston and Taylor noted, "At some time during the late 1960s and early 1970s the world we live in seemed to change."[1] The shock waves reverberating around the Western economies in late 1973, due to the trebling of oil prices by the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), provided a graphic illustration of the ending of the "good times," and of the economic and political confidence and optimism (and, some would add, arrogance) of the post-1945 period. As John Hughes has pointed out earlier in this book, any cursory examination of the statistical tables relating to patterns of employment and unemployment illustrates the profound structural problems and changes that have characterised the North American and European economies. By the beginning of the 1980s, mass unemployment had returned, once again, to the political agendas of most European countries. And as the recent series of OECD figures detail, there is little to suggest any relief to this bleak picture: unemployment is expected, for example, to rise again in France, Italy, Ireland, and the United Kingdom.

What the figures obviously fail to reflect is the damage, both in scale and intensity, accompanying the cyclical and structural trends: of the steelworkers in America, England, France, Belgium, and Italy, or of the coalmining communities, once a central part of so many economies. Perhaps, looking more carefully, the large regional variations can be detected within national economies: regional indicators of social and economic devastation. And, as Thrift has recently argued, if any observers thought the 1980s represented a decade of economic progress compared to the turbulence of the 1970s, they have been misinformed: "The economic crisis of the 1970s has not gone away; rather, in the 1980s it has been brushed under the carpet. Now it shows signs of emerging again but on a much larger scale."[2]

And Hughes (see Chapter 1) was surely correct in discussing the urgency that "stems from the dangers of rapidly and cumulatively increasing inequalities undermining and disintegrating both aspirations and the realities involved in a pursuit of citizenship and shared access to the wealth and creativity of modern society." This urgency has informed many of the case studies collected in this book; case studies that have illustrated the endeavours of a variety of institutions, in a variety of contexts, to grapple however partially with the fall-out from the above problems.

Unemployment is perhaps the most clearly visible effect of the changes in the last two decades and it has been this "unwaged" context that has provided the background for the chapters in this book.

Not all of the projects analysed in the case studies "survived" the 1980s; moreover, some of the examples described were very local, while others addressed problems at a national level (with the glimmer, occasionally, of aspirations towards international links). Unlike the situation in Sweden outlined by Kenneth Abrahamsson (see Chapter 10), most case studies existed within a national context characterised by a lack of political cohesion and coherency towards the unwaged. At the beginning of the 1990s, for example, many countries have yet to demonstrate the existence of a "post 16" national integrated system of continuous training and education.

Perhaps those educationalists and trainers working with "displaced" adults have developed important and valuable "immune" systems within such politically frustrating and economically difficult contexts; "problematic-circumstances-but-also-new-opportunities" as a phrase, has occurred more than once in the case studies. But maybe this is correct. Mass unemployment and its consequences have led to a questioning of the policies and practices of many agencies and institutions. For the trade unions, employers, and above all for educationalists in Europe and North America, "restructuring" presents new challenges and opportunities as well as a threat to established ways of working. There are illustrations within the case studies of the beginnings of attempts to explore new alliances and new organisational structures–these involve trade unions, employers, media organisations, universities, and other educational institutions; and their relationships involve "displaced" workers, unwaged people generally, and voluntary and community organisations. Each of the chapters, describing different projects, has raised at the very least, questions which engage critically with commonly held objectives and "practice outcomes." The very different nature of their intervention has, almost by definition, failed to provide any simple policy prescriptions. Nevertheless, there are a number of identifiable themes which, we would argue, are highlighted in this collection of case studies; themes which are likely to assume greater significance in the 1990s as the economic recession, for some countries, bites deeper.

CONCLUSION

It was argued in the introduction to this book that recent falls in unemployment official totals in many countries have led to a misplaced complacency and a diminution of urgent responses; "Unemployment is no longer regarded as the critical issue it was in the early to mid 1980s."

It is encouraging to note, therefore, that the European Commission has initiated a three year "Action Programme for the Long Term Unemployed" (1989-91)–known as ERGO–with an annual budget of 1.5 million ECU (approximately £1 million).

In the context of current wider discussions about the need for a "Social Charter" throughout the European community, it is important that unemployment–and particularly long term unemployment–is highlighted, and related to other socio-economic policies. A three year project with a 1.5 million ECU annual budget may be regarded as a tokenistic response, and it does not signify major policy changes in individual countries; it is, however, a political recognition at a broad European level of the need for action to counteract long term unemployment.

In the context of this book, what is also significant is that this new programme highlights a number of major themes which are examined both in Chapter 2 and in the case-study chapters. These include: a need to know the range of programmes, projects, and initiatives which exist currently; the need for cross sectoral approaches, and an examination of differing or overlapping objectives which underpin a wide-range of initiatives; the necessity for both quantitative and qualitative evaluation in order to assess both intended and unintended outcomes; and finally, the potential linkage between projects' experiences and outcomes on the ground and in policy formulation. In the concluding framework to Chapter 2, it was argued that all these questions are interrelated.

Key Themes and Highlights

Following, a number of the key themes from various chapters are highlighted. In the first edition of *ERGO News*,[3] it is acknowledged that although a multiplicity of different projects has been developed for unemployed people in the past decade, relatively little is known about the real achievement of these different programmes and projects. Thus, as pointed out in Chapter 2, and reinforced in Chapter 11 which examines training systems for the young unemployed in five European countries, there is a major monitoring and evaluation problem. An initial task, therefore, for the ERGO Programme is to establish a selective inventory of programmes or projects which benefit long-term unemployed people.

This "need to know" should include a wide range of projects from education and training programmes, as well as local economic initiatives for social and cultural activities. "The efforts of the broadest possible range of operators" must be galvanised, and these include unemployed people, trade unionists, researchers, and employers, as well as representatives of central and local government.[4] This emphasis on the development of cross-sectoral approaches, networking and "coalition-building," is stressed in Chapter 2 and is also examined in several other chapters. Indeed, one major reason for the choice of case studies for this book is that they cover a spectrum of responses from deliberately varied settings and organisational bases.

The relatively new role of trade unions and employers as key actors in the financing and organisation of adult education opportunities both for "displaced" workers and active employees is examined in the American context in Chapters 3 and 4. The "Joint-Programmes" there have emphasised the need for general educational opportunities in addition to pre-existing specific vocational training; they have also broadened the organisational base for adult education, reduced real and perceived barriers to access, and forced participating educational providers to become more flexible and responsive.

These issues are also emphasised by Abrahammson in Chapter 10, where he argues that one of the most urgent missions in the future development of Swedish (and other countries') adult education is to broaden employers' sponsored programmes. It is significant to note that since Chapters 3 and 4 were written, the "Joint-Programme" model is being implemented for the first time in the UK.

In late 1989, motor manufacturer FORD UK launched the joint management-union Employee Development and Assistance Programme (EDAP) initiative.[5] Based clearly on the American model, this is the first scheme of its type to be adopted by a major employer in the UK. There is, however, one major difference with the American programmes. EDAP (with a wide range of general educational opportunities) is aimed at active employees only–there are no opportunities for "displaced" or unemployed workers; perhaps this reinforces the point made earlier in this concluding chapter about a recent misplaced complacency and a diminution of urgent responses to unemployment.

Apart from this major omission, the EDAP Scheme, and more particularly the American programmes with their emphasis both on "displaced" workers and active employees, are significant examples of partnerships between organisations and institutions –management, unions, and educational providers–which had not previously co-operated in such a cross-sectoral manner.

The potential of this kind of "cross-sectoral" partnership, coupled with the need for integration of vocational training and general educational opportunities, is also highlighted elsewhere in this book. For example, Chapter 5 on the CISU Project illustrates the value of developing broad-based coalitions (involving trade unions, media organisations, higher education institutions, and the state employment commission) at different levels (from "top" regional officials to groups of unemployed people). The model–only possible through a coalition approach –of linking telecommunications to face-to-face services was a significant invention of the CISU project; it showed how training and general education can be integrated, and subsequently utilised by a much larger proportion of the "targeted audience" than would usually be expected from adult education initiatives.

Similarly, the REPLAN programme for unemployed adults in the UK (see Chapter 6) refers to the growth of networks attempting to link adult, further, and higher education with voluntary organisations. The programme encouraged co-operation and collaboration within and between educational institutions in order to remove barriers to educational opportunities for unemployed people, and create improved access or progression routes.

This collaborative theme is emphasised further in Chapter 7, concerning the Open College Networks in the UK. The significant spread and success of these networks (which are regional accreditation organisations) has highlighted issues of access, accreditation, and integration of vocational and general educational opportunities for all adults.

Several chapters, then, highlight the need both for "collaboration," "networking," or "coalition-building," and for integration of vocational and general educational possibilities. "Adult education's work is a balancing act. In view of the new demands, it should provide further vocational qualifications and at the same time make possible the development of the personality and the opening up of social reality...what is needed is adult education which is not related one-sidedly to the one or the other function, but is a varied programme of general, vocational, cultural, political, and integrated education."[4]

One major problem, however, at least outside Scandinavia, is that the generally accepted need for integration of educational and vocational opportunities, and the subsequent need–particularly in the UK–for major changes in educational institutions may override, or at least minimise, the necessity for popular adult education (as outlined in Chapter 10 from Sweden) or what in Chapter 8 is referred to as social purpose or collective adult education.

Chapter 9 refers to this problem in the contest of an analysis of community business development in Scotland, and key questions are posed for educational institutions and adult educators. Many agencies (for a combination of historical, organisational, financial, and political reasons) have their own priorities, often with narrowly defined objectives in terms of the total personal, social, and economic lives of people, and in particular working-class people or "deprived" neighbourhoods. Thus, it is implied, the starting point should be a commitment to working with social groupings in these areas and the development of education and training strategies relevant to their expressed needs.

George Burt's emphasis in Chapter 9 on localism, flexibility, and sensitive and appropriate support and intervention, is similar to some of the key characteristics of recent Danish initiatives. There, the *Folketinget* (the Danish Parliament) approved a ten-point programme for general and adult education in 1984. From 1984 to 1989, 457 experimental local projects were funded from a budget of more than 100 million DKr. (almost £81 million); an enormous sum for a population of less than 6 million people in 1985–at least when compared to expenditures on general adult education in all other "developed" countries outside Scandinavia. Based on the lessons from these projects, the Special Danish Committee for General and Adult Education has prepared a new act in support of general and adult education which is expected to be acted upon by the Danish Parliament in 1990.

The projects which were funded were based on experimentation, localism, maximum flexibility, and partnership between "providers" and "users." This bottom-up approach stresses the involvement of the local community group or interested individuals at all stages; it also emphasises the importance of broad-based multisector co-operation. Many of the projects were a product of broad-based co-operation between institutions, general and adult education organisations, associations, groups, and local individuals.[7] This is an acknowledgement that "social, educational, and cultural problems should no longer be dealt with separately."[8]

The Danish Research and Development Centre for Adult Education specifically established "Project Interrelation" (*Projekt Overgang*) to focus on the interrelation between cultural activities, social development, and education, seeking to eliminate the traditional barriers between these areas. The centre subsequently produced a database of experimental and development work within adult education, working life, and cultural and social areas.[9]

In effect, what is needed is a co-ordinated and integrated approach at local and national levels to the administration of public policy in the fields of education, employment and training, urban and regional programmes, and enterprise development. In Britain at least, it has been argued in a recent report, that current workings are "illogical and unhelpful, with different government Departments competing with each other to deliver programmes. Co-ordination between, and within Departments is abysmally poor, and the relationship between Central and Local Government is under increasing strain."[10]

One could also make similar criticism about the lack of collaboration between various local government departments and their initiatives. In many cases, education, social services, housing, and enterprise development fail to implement collaborative practices at local levels.

This necessity for administrative and organisational collaboration must, however, be coupled with a major emphasis from the outset on the involvement of local communities and groups or particular "targeted" individuals. Thus, the strategies to create accountability and participation need to be developed. For this to happen, there must be effective outreach and the development of strong social support systems, as Lee Schore and Jerry Atkin point out in the conclusion to Chapter 4. In the example of Community Business (see Chapter 9), Burt explains clearly the process which must be followed for local economic regeneration; in this, the role of adult education is–potentially, at least–a key supportive element which enables and supports local people in taking action. In Chapter 8 on Trade Union Centres Against

Unemployment in the UK, the education courses which are organised regionally and nationally are controlled ultimately by unwaged people and trade union representatives, not by the adult educators.

With recent Danish projects, the process, content, and local organisation of adult education is determined by the smallest political and administrative unit, and is not controlled by educational institutions and adult educators.

This theme of accountability and local participation is also referred to implicitly in research terms in the conclusion to Chapter 11; after examining training systems in five West European countries, Christa Michiels concludes that future research should include more insight into the experiences and views of groups such as long-term unwaged people, and examine whether proposed or current training and education schemes fulfil their needs.

The general absence of adequate and suitable measures of evaluation, co-ordination, and links between project outcomes and policy are perhaps indicative of a more fundamental problem characterising the national and international context within which educational activities with those out of–or on the fringe of–the labour market take place. Almost by definition, the educational and training problems confronting unwaged workers, especially the long-term unemployed, are long-term problems. Political solutions to these problems tend again, also by definition, to be of a short-term nature. Massaging statistical categories relating to jobless totals, short-term "ear-marked" finance, temporary contract project workers, and the creation of tokenistic agencies and initiatives, are some of the measures which illustrate the political desperation of "being seen to do something." Despite, for example, the substantial and complex psychological problems facing displaced workers as outlined earlier by Score and Atkin, most of the case-studies reported in this book occurred within the context of vulnerable and fragile funding bases, often located within institutions which did not prioritise the training and education needs of unwaged people.

In a different context, but similarly concerned with the politics of gesture and tokenism, conference participants at a recent meeting on "Women's Vocational Education and Training: European Perspectives" "frequently contrasted [the] formal commitment to equal opportunities and legal measures to promote equality with the real situation of women" in the areas of vocational education and training.[11] Confronting the structural gender and racial inequalities characterising the labour market requires political and educational strategies which transcend the short-term political fortunes at any particular moment. This particular example illustrates the gap between policy formulation, and experiences and outcomes "on the ground." At a more general level, it emphasised the need for the direct, and more than tokenistic involvement and representation of the "victims" in political and policy making forums.

Conclusions

It is appropriate in the concluding section to a volume of case study experiences drawn from Europe and North America that we return to the international dimensions of unemployment. The starting point chronologically, but more importantly conceptually, for this book was those crucial reverberations–economic, social, and cultural–resulting from the reordering and restructuring processes underway at the international level. Attempting to make sense of the social and economic damage within the community, within the industrial conurbations, and often within whole economic and geographical regions scattered throughout the heartlands of the capitalist economies, necessitates the grasping of the international character of this disorder.

As the title of this book makes clear, however, the chapters collected for this volume refer only to experiences from parts of North America and Europe. Yet global restructuring, and the international division of labour, has led to far greater economic and social problems in the "third world" than in the advanced industrial world. Thus, this book portrays only part of the global problem. In this context, it reflects accurately the time lag and delay of an educational practice struggling to relate local responses to rapidly changing macro socio-economic and political changes. Perhaps more importantly, the absence of additional examples from the wider international community is a reflection of the weakness of those national and international structures within the field of education and training. Under-resourced, understaffed, and often divorced from much valuable local experience, the important but intermittent international activities within North America and Europe have tended to emanate from the enthusiasm and commitment of the few rather than from the conceptual and organisational imperatives of the problems inherent in labour market education.

Reference must be made, however, to the emerging networks which are being encouraged by organisations such as the International League for Social Commitment in Adult Education, which is linked to the International Council for Adult Education. More specifically, in relation to unemployment, the European Network of the Unemployed (ENU) was established formally at a conference in Dublin in December 1989. With delegations of unemployed activists from nine European countries, ENU was critical of the lack of representation of the unemployed themselves in a wide variety of unemployed programmes, and is anxious to develop a campaigning role in Europe. Delegates also discussed the urgent need to link their organisation to developments and groupings in Eastern Europe.

These limited examples, and other unpublicised linkages between paid staff and unwaged people themselves, from a range of projects across various countries represent an important gain; a gain that, specifically within the European context, is likely to deepen and multiply as the momentum of the European single market gathers momentum.

In this context, the education and training initiatives with unwaged groups collected in this volume, albeit limited to parts of North America and Europe, illustrate a recognition of the importance of reviewing critically and developing understandings within a framework that transcends the particular–and that transcends the national context. And nowhere is this perspective more urgent, exciting, and more challenging than in the opportunities that have opened dramatically within the Eastern European countries.

"It's perhaps time to admit we also have jobless people," announces the subheading to a double page spread on unemployment in the September 1989 edition of *Moscow News*.[12] As an article on Moldavia reports, "For decades, official reports and publications described Moldavia as a man-made Eden; the result of diligence and wise management. Today it is clear that life in this Eden is no bed of roses. About 150,000 of the Republic's four million turned out to be superfluous." The failure of highly technocratic management-centred experiments designed to raise labour productivity in the 1960s, coupled with the downturn in per capita real incomes and much steeper decline in investment in the 1980s, has unleashed an unrelenting economic pressure for reform. In the Soviet Union, as in the other Eastern European countries, "We have, so far," suggests Blazycd, "seen much more *glasnost* than *perestroika*, more of the 'openness' and precious little of the 'restructuring,' many problems but few answers."[13] The reason for this, partly at least, might just be the immense scale of the difficulties confronting the Eastern European economies. As Boris Bolotin, a senior academician in the Soviet Union, spelt out, "according to our count, the country could double its GNP in 20 to 25 years while cutting 25 to 30 million of the 140 million people currently employed in the Soviet Economy!"

For the trainers and educators in the west, the processes of deepening democratisation underway within Eastern Europe provide exciting possibilities of extending our structures of mutual learning and experience exchange, of extending and receiving support. Above all, there is the opportunity of contributing towards ensuring that the economic and social disenfranchisement of those on the margins or out of the labour market will, in the future, be politically unacceptable in both the East and the West.

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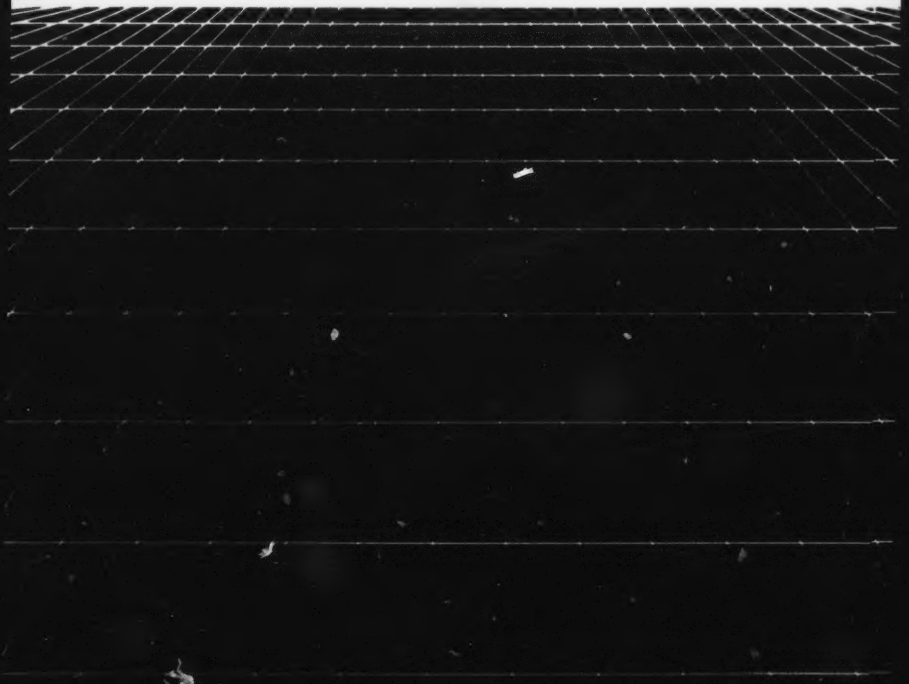

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